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The CHURCH and SOCIAL REFORMS

JAMES R. HOWERTON

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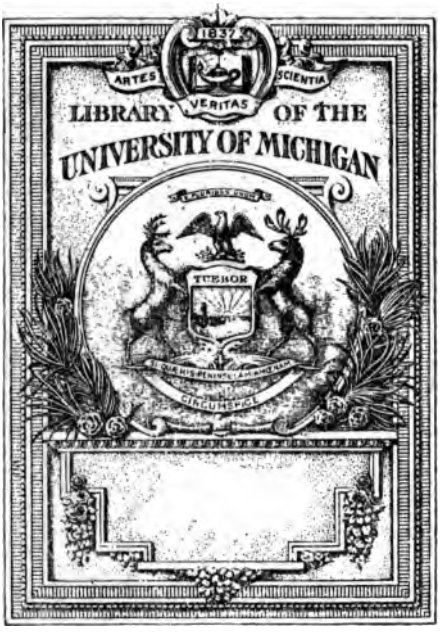
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The Church and Social Reforms

The Church and Social Reforms

By
JAMES R. HOWERTON
Professor of Philosophy in Washington and Lee University

With an Introduction by
REV. J. PRESTON SEARLE, D. D.
Professor of Systematic Theology in New Brunswick Theological Seminary

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Introduction

THAT the social unrest of the day arises from a sense of real and wide-spread social wrongs, utterly anti-Christian, the Christian conscience more or less acutely apprehends. That if left to itself society, angry and short-sighted, will seek adjustment of these wrongs by countervailing wrongs, the repeated lessons of history teach us to fear. That He who is the only Light of the World has given us in His teachings complete answer to every social problem, the Christian confidently believes. That those who thus trust Him, must, as His commissioned light bearers, be up and at our sacred though difficult task of letting His light shine through us upon the present shadows, is the growing conviction of the Church.

In the three lectures following, Dr. Howerton endeavours to point the way of the Church as she hears on the one hand the cry for help, and on the other her Lord's summons, not to unaccustomed, but to wider and more energetic ministries.

Her task the author views as a twofold one. She, directly, without silencing her proclamation of the Christ as the needed Saviour of sinners, is as insistently to proclaim Him as Lord of life, individual and social; and is to proclaim the principles on which He bases His kingdom and the precepts

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in which these principles appear as the kingdom's working laws. This is her first duty. The second one is to summon her members to go forth, whether they belong to the so-called classes or masses, and each one for himself, at any cost, to live these principles in his own life, and, in such collective association as shall promise most effective result, to use the utmost endeavour to bring the wrong-doer and the wronged into obedience to these holy laws.

That all this is not idle dreaming Dr. Howerton shows from the record of other crises which have resolved themselves into beneficent advance or into chaotic retrogression in measure as the Christ voice has been heeded or ignored.

Because we knew of the author's wide and well-used opportunities for observation, of his clarity and force of thought, and of his loyalty to Christian truth in which all effective social reform must root itself and by it be guided, the New Brunswick Theological Seminary asked from him these lectures, and now gladly seeks for them a wider audience. We feel that there is in them that which will aid towards the coming of the kingdom for which the Lord Christ gave Himself and over which He will reign as the Prince of Peace.

J. PRESTON SEARLE.

New Brunswick, N. J.

Preface

THIS little book is the outcome of lectures delivered by the writer. The first lecture in the book is an adaptation from an address made in the spring of 1909 before the presbyteries of Baltimore and of Maryland at their joint celebration in Baltimore of the four hundredth anniversary of John Calvin's birth. The third lecture was delivered in substance before the Presbyterian Union of Washington, D. C., in February, 1911. It was rewritten for the purpose of delivering it as an address as retiring president of the Council of the Reformed Churches in the United States holding the Presbyterian System at the biennial meeting in Pittsburgh, March, 1912, but, owing to a misunderstanding, it was not delivered. It was submitted to Dr. J. Preston Searle, of New Brunswick Theological Seminary, for his reading and criticism. As a result an invitation was extended from the faculty of that institution to deliver it before the students. After being rewritten and enlarged, the second lecture being added, it was so delivered in three lectures in December, 1912.

The book in its present form has been slightly altered since the delivery of the lectures in New Brunswick. At the suggestion of the publishers the lectures have been subdivided into twelve chapters,

consecutively numbered. All historical matter in the first lecture not essential to the discussion of principles has been omitted. The third lecture has been somewhat expanded, almost the whole of the tenth chapter having been added. Not only sentences, but whole paragraphs and sections, especially in the second lecture, have been quoted or adapted from my lectures on Theory and Method of Ethics to my classes in Washington and Lee University. I reserve the privilege of repeating myself therefore if those lectures should ever be published.

These lectures were written from the standpoint of that group of Churches to which the writer belongs, the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, but the effort has been made to avoid any sectarian narrowness, and to state the principles so broadly that they may be acceptable, not only to members of other evangelical churches, but to all who believe in the moral progress of man and of society towards a Divine ideal.

The aim has been to discuss not methods of political and economic reform, but the moral principles and motives which must underlie them. The latter come within the scope of the Church's message; the former do not.

I wish to acknowledge indebtedness to Dr. J. Preston Searle for his kindness in securing the invitation to deliver these lectures, in criticizing them, and in writing the introduction to this volume; also to the faculty and students of New Brunswick Theological Seminary; and to Dr. John H. Raven of the

seminary faculty for his kindness in the matter of publication.

I take this occasion also to acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. D. M. Douglas, formerly of Baltimore, and of the Rev. Dr. Wallace Radcliffe, of Washington, D. C., to whom I was indebted for former opportunities to speak on this subject.

J. R. H.

Lexington, Va.

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FIRST LECTURE

The Church and the Revolutions of the Past

I

INTRODUCTORY

IN his letter to the Ephesians Paul says: "When He ascended on high, . . . He gave gifts unto men. . . . And He gave some to be pastors and teachers, for the perfection of the saints unto the work of service, unto the building up of the body of Christ, till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto the Perfect Man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

Upon this we base our theory that the pastor and teacher is the gift of Christ, and that in a double or treble sense;—that the office itself is instituted by Christ, that the man is called to that office by His Spirit, and that his mission and message are given to him by the Word and the Spirit. It may be difficult at times to hold this theory. When we see, on the one hand, the almost purely professional standards by which many churches determine their choice of pastors; and, on the other hand, the candidating and rivalry of preachers for those pastorates which are most desirable from a worldly and selfish standpoint; it is difficult at times to believe that the Spirit of Christ has anything to do with it. Let us stick to our theory none the less. This is certainly one of those cases in which practice ought to be

made to conform to the theory, and not theory modified to fit the practice.

Paul also states the proximate and ultimate ends of the office of pastor and teacher; the ultimate end is the attainment of that ideal which is personified in Jesus Christ; and the proximate end is the fitting of his people for service to the attainment of that ideal. Although Paul does not explicitly say so in this passage, yet his language implies the teaching of his Master, that the moral ideal is not merely individual, but social; that it consists, not merely of the attainment by the individual of that Perfect Man in whom all the powers of body and soul are all attuned to the great moral chords of Love, Justice, and Truth; but also the realization on earth of the kingdom of heaven of which Love, Justice, and Truth are both the constitutive and regulative principles.

According to the correct translation and exegesis of this passage, one of the most important functions of the pastor and preacher is to perfect his people for the work of service. But service for what? service where? service to whom? service in what relations? Service of course to God, but is it not also service to men? Service to individuals, but is it not also service to the body,—to the whole social organism? Service for the life to come of course, but is it not also for the life that now is? Service to redeem men's souls from hell, but is it not also service to save both men and society from sin and the hells which sin makes here in this world? Service to

bring men into the kingdom of heaven in heaven itself, but is it not also service to bring the kingdom of heaven among men, and that God's will may be done ON EARTH as it is in heaven? All this involves that it is the duty of the pastor and preacher to fit his people for service to the Church, but also for service to the State and to all social organisms which naturally arise among men, and finally to the whole human organism. It involves fitting them for service in distinctively religious lines of work, but also for service in what is called secular lines, in manual and mental labour for the physical and moral welfare of man. And mark, the latter kind of service is not merely incidental to the former. It is not merely that the preacher cannot help making his people better men and women for the life that now is while seeking to save them for the life to come, but that he must make them better here in order to save them there; not merely that he makes them better servants of the State in seeking to make them good servants of the Church, but that it is his business to make them better citizens; not merely that he incidentally betters the social organism, and all the laws and institutions which constitute it, in bettering the individuals who compose it, but that he must seek the betterment of the social organism with all its laws and institutions in order to make better individual men and women.

The Church is not itself the kingdom of heaven, neither is it the only means to the bringing of that kingdom on earth. The family, the school, the

State, are as essential means to the Divine ideal as the Church, and service which looks to the kingdom of heaven as its ultimate end must include all these as proximate ends. Farms, factories, railroads, telegraphs and telephones, steamships and cables, stores, banks, and perhaps even stock and produce exchanges, are necessary means to that kingdom. Not only preachers, but all kinds of manual and mental labourers are needful for this kingdom. Now it is the peculiar business of the preacher, who has people of all these classes among his flock, to add to that fitness of manual skill which they have acquired in the shop, or to that intellectual ability which they have acquired in the schools, for service in their several occupations, that perfection of fitness for service which consists in a clear understanding of the ultimate end of all service, and in the love to God and man which is the supreme motive of all true service.

The message of the Church and of her ministry, therefore, has its bearing, not only upon every individual, but upon every relation of life, upon every organism, and upon every institution. The State and its politics, business and its economic methods, are no exceptions. It is one thing to say that the Church as an organized body must not go into politics, but a very different thing to say that the Church has no message to politicians and business men, no principles to teach them which it is their duty to apply in the solution of old problems, as well as the new ones which are continually emerging with the development of the world's civilization.

It is the duty of the Church, therefore, of her pastors, and of the teachers in her schools, to be awake and attentive to the signs of the times. The Church must adapt her message and her methods of work to the great social movements which mark the onward progress of the human race, and she must bring out of her treasury of things new and old that which is especially adapted to the present times. She must give especial emphasis to that part of her message which applies to present problems and emergencies.

II

THE EPOCHAL MOVEMENTS OF HISTORY

IT is the opinion of many thoughtful men that we are now entering upon one of those epochal movements in human history which, while they may seem to be catastrophic, are the result of moral and spiritual forces which have been silently working for centuries.

Such an awakening was that which began something over four centuries ago, called, from the standpoint of letters and science, the Renaissance; from the standpoint of religion, the Reformation. From the standpoint of politics, it manifested itself in wars and revolutions.

Such crises produce profound and lasting effects upon human life. They result in the overthrow of the old, and the establishment of new governments, in the repeal of old laws and constitutions and the adoption of new ones; they result in schisms and heresies in the Church, in the abolition of old and the formulation of new creeds; they result in profound changes in economic theories and methods. Such periods usually begin with destruction and end with reconstruction. They are always attended with conflict of some sort, often with actual wars and military revolutions. In such periods there is always more than ordinarily intense conflict be-

tween conservatives and progressives both in politics and religion. They are always accompanied by hardships, not only to the guilty but to the innocent. They always require the self-sacrifice, and sometimes the martyrdom, of the leaders as well as the followers in such movements. When such conflicts have passed, human life seems to settle down to a period of comparative quiet, and of steady growth under new conditions, until the silently working moral and spiritual forces bring about another period of catastrophic upheaval. But history never goes backward. Life, in any of its phases, is never the same after one of these crises. And they must continue to recur just so long as there are political and social evils left untouched by the revolutions and reformations of the past.

The Church has always taken a prominent part in such movements. There has never been a great political or social revolution without some corresponding phase of moral and religious revolution. The preachers, as well as the statesmen, have always been influential leaders in such movements.

But unfortunately the churches and the preachers have not always taken the part they ought to have taken. They have often been conservative when they should have been progressive. They have obstructed progress when they should have led and guided it. They have clung to the forms of an old orthodoxy, when the new so-called heresy was an advance towards the truth.

When such periods have passed, the heresy, both in politics and religion, becomes orthodoxy; the progressives become the conservatives; and there is danger that, forgetting the lessons of history, the descendants of the reformers of the past may become the opponents of the reformers of the present. If we would be children of the prophets rather than of those who have stoned the prophets, we must learn the lessons which these past reformations and revolutions have to teach us.

III

THE REVOLUTIONS OF THE PAST

OUR own liberty, both civil and religious, is to a very large extent the result of the revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,—the revolutions which accompanied or followed the Reformation. Our American struggle for independence was historically continuous with the revolutions in England and Scotland, with the struggle for the independence of the Netherlands, and with that great though unsuccessful struggle of the Huguenots in France for civil and religious liberty.

This is true, not only in the sense that the American patriots were mainly descendants of those who fought for liberty in Europe, but that the principles and motives which incited and sustained them in that struggle were the same as those which had actuated their fathers in the earlier conflicts. Our constitution, with its checks against the despotism of the few and the license of the many, with its entire separation of Church and State, is the result of the principles which had been developed into practice by those conflicts.

If, then, there are political and social evils now, which these past revolutions did not remove, or which, unforeseen and unprovided for by our fore-

fathers, have developed since, a new and wider application of the old principles may help us find a remedy for them; and a revival of the motives which actuated the patriots and the martyrs in those conflicts will stimulate us to the discharge of our duty to our own times.

It is of profound significance for us that the greatest and most successful of these struggles took place in those countries which were most influenced by the Reformation, and especially by that form of doctrine and government which took shape under the leadership of John Calvin. Furthermore, these revolutions were begun and carried to a successful issue by that very class of the subjects of these countries who adhered to the doctrine and discipline of that branch of Protestantism known as the Reformed Church. It is of course a coincidence that the virtual recognition of the independence of the Dutch took place in 1609, exactly one hundred years after the birth of Calvin, but it is more than a coincidence that the leaders and the followers in that struggle were disciples of Calvin. This revolution in the Netherlands was not only the first successful struggle for liberty, but was itself an important link in the chain of events leading to the establishment of civil and religious liberty in Western Europe, in Great Britain, and in America.

Neither to Calvin nor to the churches which were organized under his influence belongs the exclusive credit of instigating and carrying to a successful issue these great movements. Many other men and

many other causes contributed to the final result. Not only in other Protestant churches, but in the Roman church there were conscientious men who gave aid to the cause of liberty. Even outside the pale of orthodox churches there were great and good men who contributed no small part to the successful result. But Calvin was unquestionably one of the greatest exponents of the principles involved in these struggles, and the Reformed churches were most influential in the spread of those principles and in the awakening of the moral and religious motives which strengthened men for these enduring conflicts.

While we must guard against our own bias, and the consequent predisposition to interpret the facts of history in the light of our own ethical and religious beliefs, yet we are justified in saying that all of these struggles were, at bottom, *moral* conflicts, and that, in so far as they were successful, they were so for that very reason. True, many causes contributed to these revolutions; almost every motive which can actuate human conduct, the selfish and the base, as well as the unselfish and the noble, influenced both leaders and followers in these conflicts. But a great moral purpose dominated the whole movement. Even when physical life and liberty, or material property were involved, it was not the mere instinct of self-protection or defense of property which actuated men, but it was the conviction that these were *rights*, in a unique moral sense, and that it was their *duty* to defend these rights, even at a greater sacrifice of life and property, which

sustained them to the end. But above all, and the most powerful of these motives, was the determination to win freedom of conscience.

The first of these was the conflict in France, the land of Calvin's birth, the land which first showed the influence of his life and teaching, and in which the Reformed Church most completely exemplified his doctrine and discipline. This struggle, after enduring for more than a century, was finally unsuccessful, but it is all the more instructive on that account. For that very failure was due to the betrayal of moral and religious principle to political expediency. The ultimate result of that failure, culminating in the French revolution, exemplifies the difference between revolutions based upon sound principles, and that which was the result of an unmediated conflict between two false theories, a theocratic despotism and an atheistic democracy. At one time in their history, the Huguenots seemed to stand upon the very borders of the promised land of liberty, and had not their leaders, Henry of Navarre and Sully, betrayed their cause to personal ambition and political expediency, in France they might have given to the world the first example of a free nation.

But, though finally unsuccessful, so far as their native land was concerned, this struggle of the Huguenots was most important in its effects on other lands. Fleeing to Holland, England, and America, they carried with them, not only their skill as artisans, but their religious principles and their

civic virtues, and, merging with the people of those lands, contributed largely to their civil and religious progress.

The next struggle was that of the Netherlands. Under Philip II, a relentless bigot and persecutor, the attempt was made to extirpate the Reformed religion. The result was the revolt of the Netherlands in 1572, their declaration of independence on July 21, 1581, and the virtual acknowledgment of that independence by Spain in 1609. Their leader in this conflict, unsurpassed in history for heroism and self-sacrifice, was that great Calvinist, William the Silent, Prince of Orange. This successful revolution not only stimulated the friends of liberty in all lands, but enabled Holland to offer refuge to the Puritans of England and the Presbyterians of Scotland in their persecutions for conscience's sake under the Stuarts.

The next struggle for liberty was the revolution in England under the Stuarts. This conflict was not due primarily to the attempt on the part of the Stuarts to extend the royal prerogative. Charles I contended, with great measure of truth, that he was claiming no greater power than his predecessors had exercised. But since the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth the people had been educated in a sense of their rights, and especially of the rights of conscience, with which the traditional theory of the royal prerogative could not be reconciled. While the concrete issue which finally led to the revolt was the power of taxation, yet it was so because the

retention of that power by the parliament was the most effectual check to the arbitrary authority of the king. It was by Charles' attempt to usurp the religious liberty of his subjects that he was brought to such straits that he attempted to tax the people without the consent of his parliament. The real issue was liberty in its broadest sense, including that of freedom of conscience. Though this revolution was followed by a counter-revolution and seemed to have been nullified by the restoration of the Stuarts, yet it was the attempt of James II to restore Romanism which forced the Church of England party into alliance with the dissenters and resulted in the final expulsion of the Stuarts.

Now from the Huguenots of France, the Calvinists of Holland, the Puritans of England, and the Presbyterians of Scotland, streams of immigrants poured into the New World. Lecky, in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," says:

"The difficulties of the colonization of America were such that those who encountered them were almost always men of much more than common strength of character, and they were to a very large extent men whose motive in abandoning their country was the intensity of their religious or political convictions. It is the peculiarity of the British colonies in America that they were mainly founded and governed by such men. . . . This fact is perhaps the most important in its history. After all that can be said of material and intellectual advantages, it remains true that moral causes lie at the

root of the greatness of nations; and it is probable that no nation ever started on its career with a larger proportion of strong characters, or a higher level of moral conviction, than the English colonies in America."

He further says: "Most of the colonists belonged to those non-episcopal churches which, by throwing on the people the duties of ecclesiastical government, have been the best schools of political freedom."

Taught by the lessons of the past, and carrying out to their logical conclusions the principles of separation of Church and State which Calvin had taught but had not developed, the founders of our government placed religious liberty upon a footing of absolute equality. While even to-day religious freedom and equality are more perfectly realized here than in any of the countries of the old world, yet it must not be forgotten that we owe this to the stern conflicts of the disciples of Calvin in France, Holland, and Great Britain.

Our own revolution of 1776 is no exception to the statement that these great struggles for liberty were, at bottom, moral conflicts. While, as in the English revolution, the concrete issue was taxation without representation, yet it was a question of moral principle, of *rights*. The patriots of 1776, taught by the experience of their fathers, knew that to yield to this pretension of the crown would result in the loss of the more sacred rights for which their fathers had fought.

IV

MORAL MOTIVES ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS

THESE great struggles, which have resulted in our modern civil liberty, were successful because they were at bottom moral conflicts, and this for two reasons; first, because that fact provided an invincible motive; and second, because it always enlisted allies for the oppressed from among those who would otherwise have belonged to the class of the oppressors.

History has taught us that mere material considerations cannot nerve men for the stern and enduring conflicts necessary for the overthrow of despotism.

The whole of mediæval history, even down to the time of the Reformation, is a history of the growth of despotic authority and of the centralization of power. Republics were converted into kingdoms and empires; principalities and petty kingdoms were consolidated into wider monarchies. The aggrandizement of kings and their courtiers, with the exaltation of the royal prerogative, was a necessary accompaniment of this process. The motive behind all this was the necessity of material considerations. The submission of the weak to the strong was necessary for protection from foreign

aggression. Unity and the resulting strength necessary for the growth of nations in material welfare were secured at the expense of individual liberty and of local self-government.

In all this there is to be found no motive for resistance to a benevolent despotism. Even under tyranny and oppression the alternative of resistance seems to lead to worse ills when measured solely by the material standard. Even when few are found who prefer death to servitude, they are unable to arouse the mass of the people. Even if not contented, the people prefer to endure the ills they have rather than incur the risk of worse. It is not until, as in France before the Revolution, material oppression has become so bad that no worse alternative can be imagined, that the dam of despotic authority breaks and the flood of the people's desperate wrath overwhelms the land.

But it is far otherwise when moral issues are at stake. When the oppressor dares to invade the rights of conscience, he presents an alternative, worse than poverty, worse than dungeon cells, worse than scaffolds and stakes, worse than death on battle-fields. Inspired by the consciousness of right which transcends the authority of all earthly kings men will endure perils and privations with a courage and steadfastness to which no mere material considerations could ever stimulate them. They know that their cause shall succeed though they themselves perish. They believe that behind and above them is eternal justice and almighty

power. It is this motive which enlists in the cause of liberty all that is best and strongest in men. The tyrant who undertakes to subdue an enlightened conscience attempts to conquer the unconquerable.

Beside this, none of these conflicts would have been successful, so far as we can see, if it had not been for the fact that in every such struggle the oppressed found champions for their cause in the very classes and ranks to which their oppressors belonged. The subjects found leaders among their princes, the commoners among the nobility, the poor among the rich, the weak among the powerful. The revolution in England would never have been a success if many of the nobility and gentry had not sided with the parliament against the king and their own class. The American revolution would, in all probability, have ended as a discredited rebellion if the colonists had not had the sympathy of a large portion of the English people and if some of the most prominent statesmen in the mother country had not defended their cause.

Why has this been so? What has divided classes in this way? What has brought out leaders for the children in bondage from the very house of the Pharaohs? The strongest reason has been the sense of the rights of the people founded upon eternal justice. The conviction of the justice of the people's cause has been stronger than all class prejudices, natural alliances, and selfish considerations. Mixed as the motives of

some of these leaders doubtless were, marred as all these conflicts were by selfish ambitions, it was, in the main, the sense of justice which enlisted the great in the cause of the lowly, the princes in the cause of the peasants, and divided the ranks of the mighty so that they no longer presented a united front to the armies of the people.

To the Reformation, and especially to that element of it represented by the Reformed churches, was due the spread of those principles which lie at the foundation of a true doctrine of human rights, of a true conception of liberty, and of a true definition of the scope and limits of civil authority.

It has been said that the great distinctive principle of the Reformation, and especially of the Reformed churches, was the doctrine of the sovereignty of God. But this statement needs explication and amplification. The doctrine of the sovereignty of God is not only liable to be misunderstood, but it almost always is misunderstood except by those who have entered into the very heart of Calvin's system. The conception awakened in the minds of many by the bald phrase "sovereignty of God" is that of the authority of an omnipotent despot whose will must be law only because he has the power to enforce it. It is supposed by many to mean that if it pleased Him by an arbitrary decree to do so God might reverse the whole moral code and transmute the wrong into the right. Such a misconception makes of God, potentially at least, an omnipotent devil. Even so able a writer as

Lecky has fallen into this error. In his "History of European Morals," after stating what he supposes to be the ethical doctrine of Calvinistic theology, and after very justly and effectually criticizing such a doctrine, he adds in a note: "The same objection applies to Dr. Mansel's modification of the theological doctrine—namely, that the origin of morals is not the will, but the nature of God."

Now in the first place this was not Mansel's modification. It was Calvin's own doctrine, and that of the large majority of Reformed theologians, and remains so to this day. It was Augustine's doctrine before it was Calvin's, and it was Paul's doctrine before it was Augustine's.

In the second place, the same objection does *not* apply; for there is an infinite difference between finding the basis of morals in an arbitrary and perhaps capricious will and finding it an immutable nature whose essential attributes are Love, Justice, and Truth. Calvin's doctrine of the sovereignty of the Divine will is based upon the yet deeper conception of the immutable righteousness of His nature. It is true that he says, "His *will* ought to be the law of our lives," but he immediately adds, "Your idea of His *nature* is not clear unless you acknowledge Him to be the origin and fountain of all goodness." In another place he says: "Let it be our law of modesty and soberness to acquiesce in His supreme authority, regarding His will as our only rule of justice and the most perfect cause of all things,—not that absolute" (or arbitrary) "will indeed of

which the sophists prate when, by a profane and impious divorce, they separate His justice from His power,—but that universal overruling Providence from which flows nothing that is not right, though the reasons thereof may be concealed."

No naked authority, not even that of God, can constitute right or wrong by merely commanding or forbidding it. Behind every command there is some ulterior moral ground of wisdom and righteousness. Right is not right because God wills it, neither does God will it because it is imposed upon Him by any law from without, but because His nature *is* righteousness, and His will is the expression of that nature. There is one thing in Calvin's life which has not attracted the attention it deserves as interpreting his position, namely, his translation of Seneca the Roman Stoic. This work, antedating his religious work, indicated his position on the great issue between the virtue and the pleasure theory of morals, showing that he had allied himself with that school of moralists whose motto is "Right for Right's Sake." But the Stoics, while holding to an intrinsic distinction between right and wrong, had failed to find any other ground than an impersonal or pantheistic Nature for this distinction. Calvin found it in the Nature of God.

While then it is true that the regulative principle of the Reformed theology is the sovereignty of God, back of this lies the conception of the immutable righteousness of His nature. Out of this grows the

true conception of human rights as means to man's moral end.

The Reformed theology taught that man's chief end is to glorify God. This again is often misunderstood or perverted. The glory of God is man's chief end, not because God, with the selfish craving of infinite vanity for laudation, has power to compel man's subservience to His praise; but because, His nature being the eternal ground of all goodness, all truth, all beauty, all happiness, every end worthy of man's striving is included under the conception of His glory. Since man is created in the image of God, and since the purpose of Redemption is to restore and perfect that image, man can best glorify God by seeking for himself and his fellow men that ideal which is personified in the world's Redeemer, and in promoting His social ideal of the kingdom of heaven upon earth. In so doing he is promoting the happiness of the greatest number, not in the mere hedonistic sense of a sum or succession of pleasures, but a happiness which derives its moral quality from the virtues from which it springs, the blessedness of the pure in heart.

Human rights then, according to the ethics of the Reformed theology, are not mere products of the naturalistic evolution of the instincts of self-preservation and self-protection, nor the mere result of an imaginary social contract, nor the arbitrary bestowal of Divine will; but are grounded in the intrinsic justice of the Divine nature. They are bestowed as

the necessary means for the attainment of man's God-given ideal and become confirmed rights only when they are deserved by the right use of them in the pursuit of that end. Apart from that moral end a man's life is no more sacred than that of a sheep, his liberty no more inviolable than that of a horse, his property no more inalienable than that of a bee. There are no absolute rights, for the use of which, provided he do not positively violate the corresponding rights of others, every man is responsible to none but himself. Rights, to be called rights in any distinctively moral sense, must be based upon obligation and desert. They are the means to the discharge of duty, and the reward of that discharge. Every right implies an obligation, and may be forfeited, either by the abuse of it to positive wrong, or by the failure to use it in the discharge of the obligation to which it is correlative. The only difference is in the authority which may pronounce and execute the sentence of forfeiture.

This is true, not only of those fundamental rights which are common to all, but of those which grow with the development of human society out of the relations in which men stand to one another, and from the differences in natural ability and corresponding functions. In only one respect does Christianity teach the equality of all men, and that is that the supreme end of their being is one and the same. But this one aspect of equality pervades all ranks and conditions of men, and, while not abolishing other inequalities, gives a new meaning and

purpose to them. Rank, authority, power, wealth, intelligence, genius, are not arbitrary privileges conferred by the capricious favouritism of the Sovereign upon the few wherewith to minister to their own selfishness, but they are opportunities given to love and justice for the service of all, and they are responsibilities for which those who possess them must render account. The civil magistrate, whether emperor or president; governments, whether monarchical, republican, or democratic, are but the servants of God to their subjects for their good. Not original indeed were these doctrines with the theologians of the Reformation, but they deserve the credit of having clearly republished and spread abroad the teaching of the Great Master when He said, "He that will be chief among you let him be your servant."

When, therefore, the privileges of rank and authority were perverted from their God-given purpose to the exploitation of the people by the selfishness of the rulers, and, above all, when they were set above the authority of God, the people, taught by the Reformation, arose in their righteous wrath and deposed their rulers.

It was due to these principles that all these revolutions were constitutional revolutions. Their purpose was not to destroy all government, not to abolish all restraint of law, but to restore government to its rightful authority and to enable it to accomplish its true purpose. Owing to the expulsion

of the Reformed population of France, and the alliance of the established religion with the despotism of the State, when the French Revolution did come, it was an unmediated conflict between political and ecclesiastical tyranny on the one hand, atheism and anarchy on the other.

Now these principles are lasting and essential. If they have been necessary in the past to the attainment of civil liberty, they are necessary now to its preservation. However men may differ in their interpretation of the Divine will, the doctrine that the nature of God is the eternal ground of moral distinctions, of human rights, of virtue and happiness; and that His will, as the expression of that nature, is the source of all rightful authority; must be maintained to save us, on the one hand, from despotism in all its forms, and, on the other, from an atheistical anarchy. If the State is a mere product of natural evolution with which God has nothing to do, then rulers may consider themselves responsible only to the power which elects them, whether that power be the mere numbers of the majority, or the wealth and cunning of the few. There will not only be no disposition to respect the rights of a minority, but no reason why they should be respected,—indeed, there would be no such rights.

If indeed the moral development of human society is a part of a larger process of evolution, then reason, conscience, and religion have done

more in a few thousand or even in a few hundred years to determine the rate and direction of that evolution than all the blind forces have done in the millions of years preceding. It would be the irony of a diabolical fate if the very advance in intelligence which has resulted should prove that Conscience and Faith are delusions, that there is no God of Righteousness behind all this process. Convince men of that fact, then all the alliances between the strong and the weak which belief in righteousness has made possible would be dissolved; the strong would recombine in the interests of selfishness against the weak; and the weak must perish or be again enslaved. If such a godless theory were true, its discovery would mark the climax of human development and the beginning of the process of devolution; the vista of the future would present nothing but the descent of man through barbarism and savagery, till what might be left of the race would be nothing but a pack of snarling, fighting brutes.

If we, as a people, under the influence of a materialistic philosophy and a hedonistic ethics, come to regard our material welfare as our supreme end, our wealth and our ease as more precious than true freedom, we shall sell ourselves into a far worse slavery than that from which our forefathers have delivered us.

SECOND LECTURE

The Causes of the Present Social Crisis

V

THE PRESENT SOCIAL UNREST

WHAT now is the transition from the past to the present? What need is there today, not only for the reaffirmation of those principles which have proved so powerful in the past, but for their amplification, for their new interpretation, and for their enlarged application? Is there social and political unrest? If so, what reason is there for it? Is it popular hysteria, or selfish discontent, or is there a moral reason underlying it all?

In all the great countries of the world, with few exceptions, we have at least the forms of constitutional government. With the exception of Russia, we may say that in the great civilized nations military despotism no longer exists. More than that, there is little reason to fear its restoration anywhere in its old form. Even in those monarchical countries where they keep large standing armies kings would not now dare to use these armies against their own people in any truly popular uprising. Chattel slavery, and even serfdom, have been abolished. Even in those countries where the Church is established there is large measure of religious freedom. Religious disabilities to citizenship have been abolished in most of them.

More than all this, it is perhaps true that for the majority the conditions of life have vastly improved. It may very well be imagined that if any of the patriots and the martyrs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could come back to us and see the fruit of their own self-sacrifice in the comparative freedom of their posterity, so far transcending anything they had ever known or even hoped for, they would wonder why we are not satisfied. There are many in our own times, to judge from their speeches and writings, who think that the people have nothing at all to complain of. There are others who think indeed that the times are out of joint, but that the way to improve them is to go backward to the good old times of the grandfathers. This class is always with us. Nearly two thousand years ago Horace spoke of a certain character as

> "Laudator temporis acti,
> Castigator censorque minorum:"

"the man who is always praising the 'good old times' and lamenting the degeneracy of modern times." It is very likely that away back in the beginning of the iron age there were pious old barbarians who looked with disfavour upon the newfangled tools and boasted of what they had done with the good old stone implements and weapons. It is useless to reason with that kind of conservatism.

But in spite of the optimism of those who are satisfied and think that everybody else ought to be, there is very wide-spread social unrest, and there is

good reason for it; in spite of the pessimism of the old fogies, the remedy for it is to be found in going forward, not backward.

Admitting all that has been said of the real progress of civilization and liberty in the last four centuries; is it all as it ought to be, and as it might be?

Are there no slaves even in our own land? Is equal opportunity given to all for the attainment of the purpose of their being? Are the rights of all the people respected? Are there no infringements of the rights of life, liberty, and the fruit of one's labour, practiced, if not actually under legal sanction, at least with the connivance of those in authority? Are rank, power, privilege, wealth, intelligence and education being used as God-given trusts for the moral welfare of mankind? Is conscience, after all, free? Dare the preacher deliver his message faithfully without regard to fear or favour of any class of his hearers? Is the Church impartial in her attitude towards the rich and the poor, towards the capitalist and the labourer, towards the high and the low in the social scale? Are our elections free? Do our legislatures and our congresses fairly represent the interests of all the people without respect either to persons or classes? Are our laws free from class privilege? Are our very courts of justice beyond the suspicion of favouritism? It is impossible to answer any of these questions with an unqualified affirmative. Far as we are from the despotism of a Philip II or Louis XIV, we are yet far from the attainment of the ideal of true liberty.

VI

THE RESULT OF MORAL PROGRESS

WE are now passing through another one of those crises in human history, one of those epochal movements of the human race, certainly not inferior to any of those in the past, and perhaps far greater than any of those, both in its extent and in the importance of the issues involved. It is not only political and economic, but it is moral and it is religious,—it is in short *human*, in the highest sense of that term, and it embraces every human interest. It is not confined to any one country, but it is world movement in a much wider sense than was ever possible in the past.

Let us not be deceived by the fact that, so far at least, this revolution, unlike those in the past, is comparatively a bloodless one. Monarchies are converted into republics without wars. Kings are not beheaded, but merely discharged. A House of Lords is shorn of its power by the vote of the people without resort to arms. A Church may be disestablished without a bloody religious war. Creeds may be amended or even abolished without the burning of heretics. But this revolution is all the more significant on that account. That such profound changes may be wrought in social institutions without wide-spread and protracted civil and inter-

national wars is one of the most striking evidences of human progress.

This revolution is not due altogether to the fact that, in some respects, the condition has grown worse. It is still more due to the fact that the human intelligence and conscience has made such progress that it demands a better condition of things than exists now or ever existed before. Charles I was no more arbitrary in the exercise of the royal prerogative than his predecessors had been; but meanwhile the minds and the consciences of his people had been educated. It was a new conception of their rights which aroused the people to rebel against what their fathers had regarded as the rightful exercise of the Divine prerogative of kings. So now, it is not a new evil against which the people are protesting. Human selfishness in the exploitation of one's fellow men for private gain is not new. The use of money as a means of political and social corruption is not new, though the vast increase of wealth has made it possible on a much more enlarged scale.

Our plutocrats and their political henchmen, with the most sincere air of injured innocence, are asking just as Charles I did, "What more are we doing than our fathers did only one generation ago? Why are the very men who, twenty-five years ago, were the popular leaders of their respective parties, now stigmatized as 'bosses' and regarded as the tools of selfish men for the exploitation of the people? Why are the methods of 'practical politics'

then practiced or condoned by all now branded as political rascality? Why are people disturbed by meddlesome grand juries and judges in their sovereign right of buying and selling votes? Why are trust magnates, the 'princes of finance' now subjected to the indignity of being summoned by investigating committees, and even being indicted by grand juries like common thieves?"

Those who ask such questions can see in the present agitation nothing but a blind popular clamour, aroused by political demagogues to further their own aspirations for office, or by 'muck-raking' magazines and writers for their own profit. And in so thinking they reveal their own hopeless blindness to the signs of the times. The true reason is that the human conscience is making progress in the same accelerated ratio as our trains are moving and as our printing-presses are turning out newspapers, magazines, and books. The movement is at bottom a moral one. It must be kept so, and the moral issue must be made most prominent before the minds of the people, and the moral motives must be the chief incentives of both leaders and followers, if this revolution is to be a successful one.

Man's progress towards the social, as well as towards the individual ideal, is the result of a process of development. I use the word "development" here rather than the word "evolution," because the latter word implies a wider process which begins before man and of which man is a

product; whereas this development is a process within man and presupposes the existence of man with all his powers and capacities. It is a fact whether we regard man himself as a product of an antecedent process of evolution or of immediate creation. There is the physical and mental development of the individual from infancy to manhood; and of the race from a primitive state of society to a highly complex one; from the family to the tribe, from the tribe to the nation, and thence to that social organism which includes the whole human race; with a corresponding moral development in some direction.

But this development may be in either of two directions. If pleasure is made the chief end of human life, irrespective of its consequences to virtue, or of the relations in which man is bound to his God and his fellow man by the moral attributes of Love, Justice, and Truth; then, when these conflict with pleasure, either in ourselves or in the social relations, Sin appears, corrupts every natural appetite and desire, and perverts every moral attribute. Sin thenceforward becomes a part of the system of nature, in the sense that it propagates itself by the same means and under the same laws as virtue, both in the individual and in society. Just as the same system of circulation of the blood may carry either food or poison, and may cause either life or death; so the system of natural law (using that word in a higher sense than that of the merely physical) may promote either sin or right-

eousness. Through it men may influence one another for either good or evil. The social organism, with all its relations, customs, laws, and institutions may be promotive of vice as well as virtue among its constituent individuals. A sound theory of ethics, to say nothing of theology, cannot regard all sin as mere non-morality, or even immorality—a necessary stage through which man must pass in his progress towards the moral ideal. Even if it could concede that corruption of instinctive appetites and passions can be explained as mere imperfection, or, at most, as natural disease or degeneracy, it cannot concede this of the perversions of the moral attributes of man,—of the perverted self-will of hate, injustice, and falsehood. To the moralist of that school whose fundamental tenet is that moral values are intrinsic and moral distinctions absolute, sin in its proper sense cannot be a necessary part of nature and its processes, but a poison injected into its system, a supervention of perverted self-will upon nature's laws.

If, holding such a view on philosophical grounds, he find upon investigation that religion has saved men from sin, then he must face the question whether the religion which has been successful in treating sin can be anything else than a Divine physician of souls, and its remedies anything less than a further supervention upon nature's perverted processes of a process of Redemption from the Author of Nature Himself.

Now it is one of the distinctive tenets of Christian

theology that Divine Providence has supervened upon human history with a redemptive process which seeks the salvation not only of individuals but of society; whose end is not only the Perfect Man but the kingdom of heaven on earth. There is thenceforward not only a retrogression from progress in the wrong direction, but an age-long and world-wide conflict between the two tendencies of development. And just as protracted wars have their great battles, so this conflict has its critical periods in human history, its decisive battles between the forces of Selfishness and Love, between Wrong and Justice, between Sin and Righteousness.

Now in this moral progress of the human race there will be a development, not only of the objective conditions of duty, but also of moral insight, and also of the moral feelings and motives.

There is first the widening of the sphere of the objective conditions of duty, not only as to the duty of individuals towards one another as individuals, but especially with reference to the reciprocal relations between individuals and society considered as an organism. Society is more than a mere aggregation of individuals, all alike, every one standing in the same relation to all others. It is an organism, in which different individuals exercise different functions towards one another and towards the whole social body.

To begin with, there is the fundamental difference

of sex, with not only the physical differences, but also the psychological and spiritual differences between men and women, with corresponding differences of function towards the family and society. There is the difference between the infant and the adult, and between the parent and the child, with their differing functions towards one another. Out of the family grows the tribe, the State, the nation, with their developing difference of function, office, and relation between different individuals and the political organism.

Finally, with the advance of civilization, as a result of discovery and invention, of the facility of travel and intercommunication, grows the whole social organism, always approaching greater unity and solidarity. Within this will grow a number of different organisms and relations, not exactly defined or perhaps definable, but each contributing to the unity of the whole. There will be a corresponding development of the differences of function and relationship. Out of the difference in physical strength, in manual skill, in intellectual ability, in bent of mind, talent, or genius, will grow the division of labour and the different vocations of life, with their corresponding functions. As the individual concentrates his time and his talents upon some one task or function, the larger is the number of people whom he serves, and upon whom he is in turn dependent. The result is not only a widening relation to his fellows, but a closer relation to society as a whole. There is an increasing power of influence

of every individual upon society and social conditions, and at the same time an increasing dependence of every individual upon society and social conditions for his own moral welfare and happiness.

There is no order of time, but a synchronous development. Society advances towards a more perfect organic unity, *pari passu*, with the progress of the individual towards a more perfect personality. The social ideal and the individual ideal reciprocally condition one another, and progress towards one is essential to progress towards the other.

But it is important to note that there is a difference between the function of the individual towards society and that of society towards the individual. While society is not a mere aggregation of individuals, all alike in power and function, yet society has no existence apart from the individuals who compose it. Society has no mind, heart, conscience, or soul, of its own. The righteousness and the happiness of society is nothing apart from that of its constituent individuals. There is no such thing as the regeneration of society except by the regeneration of the individuals who compose it. The moral elevation of mankind is the moral elevation of men and women. While avoiding an extreme nominalism which denies the reality of the relations between individuals and the reality of the resulting unity of society, we must not fall into the other extreme of making society an entity in itself; otherwise we shall be dealing with abstractions which have no meaning. The individual, in the order of thought,

must stand first. Function towards society is no more than function towards other individuals through and by means of the organic relations and institutions which make society possible. But the fact must be recognized that there are social conditions which encourage virtue, and there are others which promote vice by the wholesale, though the same results would not follow, either for virtue or vice, if man were the passive product of his environment.

No individual, therefore, can seek his own moral welfare without seeking the moral welfare of society and the betterment of all social customs, laws, and institutions; nor can he promote the general welfare without at the same time promoting his own. Just as, in the individual, we must seek the perfection and harmony of the moral attributes of love, justice, and truth, as constitutive of character and as regulative of conduct; so, in the social organism, we must seek the perfection and harmony of these as the governing principles of society in its laws, institutions, and customs. As in the individual we must seek the subordination of the body to the spirit, the control of all appetites and desires by the moral powers with reference to moral character as their end; so in society we must seek the relative subordination of all its economic, political, and social institutions, by which man's physical needs, his non-moral appetites and desires are served, to those which at once constitute and promote the moral and

spiritual welfare of the race as an organic whole. The ideal is one in principle, character, and laws, whether in man as an individual or in man as a race.

In any antecedent stage of progress towards such an ideal conflicts may appear, not only between selfishness and selfishness, but between the legitimate self-interest of the individual and the interest of society; but it is precisely one of the ends to be sought, to bring about a social state in which there is no necessary conflict, either between the moral welfare of one individual and that of other individuals, or between that of the individual and society as a whole.

Now the fundamental moral precepts have become fixed long ago, and there is not only no probability, but no possibility that, in any essential respect, they will ever be repealed or reversed by any progress man may ever make, whether in science, philosophy, government, ethics, or religion. So far from repealing or modifying, the progress of society tends to extend the scope of such commandments and to add new sanctions to them.

But it is true, nevertheless, that with the development of civilization there must be a development of the ethical code; not only in the way of clearer insight into the relations already existing, and of widening the scope and application of laws already enacted, and of adding new sanctions to them; but in the way of abolition of old laws, customs, and institutions, which advancing knowledge has shown to

be either useless or positively injurious to man's moral progress; and in the enacting of new laws and establishing of new institutions for new relations and developing needs.

The method of ethics, therefore, is the reinterpretation of nature, of life, and of the experience of history, under the moral categories, as well as under the rational categories, in order to determine what acts, conduct, customs, institutions, and laws are best in the promotion of the moral welfare of society, as well as to determine those which are injurious to that end. Every science therefore becomes contributory to ethics, and all scientific progress may and should be made contributory to moral progress. It must avail itself of all that physiology can teach about the human body, and that medical science can teach about its health and sickness; all that psychology can teach about the mind and the relations between the body and mind; all that the physical sciences can teach about matter and material forces and their adaptation to human needs; all that anthropology, history, and sociology can teach about man and his interhuman relations; all that economics and commerce can teach about the production, manufacture, and distribution of wealth; all that politics and jurisprudence can teach about human government and law;—in short everything is grist that comes to the moralist's mill. And just as every theoretical science must be reinterpreted to determine its bearing on the moral question, so

every practical science must be adapted as a means to practical morality.

With this widening of the sphere of the objective conditions of duty, and with the development of the intellectual conditions of determining what duty is, there is also a development of moral insight. With the extension of his moral relations with other individuals, with the increased opportunity for the conscious and voluntary exercise of his moral powers towards a larger number of individuals and towards a larger social organism, there is an increase of depth and clearness of insight into the meaning of love, justice, and truth. As, by the influence of ethics and religion, the number of individuals who are thus developing in moral insight grows larger, their influence upon society becomes more powerful; and hence it may be said that society itself develops in moral insight. Social evils once justified or condoned are more clearly seen to be wrong. Polygamy, slavery, war, the liquor traffic, are examples.

What is even more important to our discussion, the feeling element of conscience becomes keener and stronger. Just as, the better a man becomes, the more highly he reverences virtue and hates sin, the more strongly he feels the sense of duty, the more keenly he feels sorrow and shame for his sins; so with the moral progress of society there is a more wide-spread and more intense love of righteousness and abhorrence of sin; a stronger feeling

of social obligation; and a keener shame of the public conscience for the evils which it still permits. Things *known* to be evil in the past are now *felt* more keenly to be so; and this must increase the effort and the energy to rid society of these evils. Public sentiment, thus educated, elevated, and intensified, becomes an ever stronger and ever increasing power for good.

In this moral progress there must be a growing conception of the sacredness of the rights already existing and recognized, as well as new conceptions of rights not hitherto recognized. Life, liberty, and property will be regarded as more sacred just as we grow into a higher conception of the moral end to which they are the means. Life will acquire a wider meaning than that of mere animal existence. Liberty will mean more than mere freedom from physical restraint. Property will mean more than the mere means to animal existence and physical comfort. Not only will the immediate and physical violation of one's rights be regarded as a wrong; but also the indirect and moral violation of those rights by speech, customs, institutions and laws. Injury to reputation by slander will be regarded as a greater wrong than physical injury. Injury to character by seduction or temptation will be regarded as worse than the murder of the body. Principles in government, economics, and sociology which are inimical to fundamental rights will be regarded as even more dangerous than concrete acts of usurpation.

Thus with an ever-growing conception of the moral ideal both individual and social; with a deeper insight into the moral meaning of already existing relations; with an advancing knowledge through the study of history and the sciences of the interdependence of all the elements of society upon one another, and of their reciprocal influence for good or evil; with the growth in the conception of the scope and sacredness of human rights; with the regeneration of the public heart and conscience by the power of religion; there must follow a profound and growing discontent with the evils of the past and of the present, and a stronger determination of the moral forces of society to make an unrelenting war upon them.

But it must not be forgotten that there has been also a corresponding development in the opposite direction. The Enemy has not been idle. Sin and selfishness have been developing by the side of Righteousness and Love; and they have been prostituting every science and every invention to their own base ends.

It was inevitable that between these two opposing forces a battle must sooner or later be fought greater than any in the history of this age-long war. The forces are arraying themselves for this battle, and indeed it has already begun at the forefront. But the main battle has yet to be engaged.

VII

THE NEW DESPOTISM

THE particular issue which is just now engaging the public mind is, as in the days of the revolutions of the past, a question of rights. But the issue is not the same. Then the issue was between the rights of rulers and the rights of the people. Now it is an issue between what are called property rights and personal rights. Then it was a question of the Divine right of kings, now it is a question of the Divine right of wealth.

We are told in the popular writings of the day that a new despotism has arisen, far greater in its power than any of the military despotisms overthrown by the revolutions of the past, and far more portentous in its significance to human welfare and progress. It is variously called plutocracy, the despotism of wealth, the tyranny of the money power. But it is not a new tyrant which threatens human liberty. It is the same old tyrant, who has merely changed his methods of enforcing his will. Human Selfishness is the real tyrant. In a savage state of society he uses a club, in a more advanced state he uses the sword and the cannon, in a still more advanced state he uses the dollar. It is a far more effective and a far more dangerous weapon of tyranny.

The tyrannical use of money has been made possible by the conditions of the age. The man who has lived through the past three-quarters of a century has lived a life equal to any previous thousand years in the history of the world in the opportunity it has given him to see the progress of science, of invention, of discovery, and of the consequent development of the sources of wealth.

The exploration and colonization of new lands, the irrigation of arid deserts, the fertilization of barren soils, the discovery of coal and iron and precious metals; the invention of machinery for the cultivation of the soil and reaping its products, for the exploitation of mineral wealth, for the harnessing of all of nature's forces for the manufacture of the raw product into the finished material for human consumption; the facility and rapidity of transportation; have given an opportunity for the accumulation of wealth never before dreamed of. While without doubt a large proportion of the people have been bettered in the general conditions of life by this enormous development of nature's resources, yet another large portion have found their condition made worse. The artisan in the old times who owned his own tools was better off than many of those who now work with another man's machine.

Meanwhile, even those who have been benefited by the increase of wealth complain and justly complain that a vastly disproportionate share of this new wealth has fallen to the possession or control

of a very few men. Mines, forests, lands, which of right belonged to the public domain, have, in one way or another, been preëmpted by private individuals or private corporations, without anything like an adequate compensation. Public utilities are controlled by private interests without due safeguards to the public interest. The necessity of enormous capitalization for the exploitation of these new resources of wealth has created the necessity for gigantic corporations, the ownership of which constitutes a comparatively small proportion of the population, and the control of which is further restricted to a very small proportion of the stockholders themselves. Monopoly in the control of the sources or the market for the purchase of the raw material, of the machinery for its manufacture, of the means of its transportation, of the market for the distribution and sale of the product to the consumer, has further centralized this wealth.

Even the causes thus far mentioned, which might in some sense be called natural and inevitable, are sufficent to produce an inequality in the distribution of wealth which threatens the health, the life, the liberty, the happiness, and above all the morals of the whole social body. But in addition to these causes has been overcapitalization, stock watering, by which industries have been made to pay dividends on double, treble, quadruple the amount of capital actually earned and invested. This has robbed the people in two ways; of their daily in-

comes by compelling them to pay dividends on watered stock in the increased prices of the necessaries of life; and of their savings by the sale of this watered stock to them through manipulation of the stock market. The alternate bulling and bearing of the market is a hydraulic ram by which the people's money is made to pump itself into the reservoirs of capital controlled by the few.

But there is a still worse evil than any of these, the corruption of politics and legislation. It may be that this began in self-defense, in the effort of business men and corporations to protect themselves against hostile or blackmailing legislation. But if indeed it did begin there it certainly did not stop there. Having learned the power of money in influencing legislation, business sought political control on a large scale. To accomplish this end it has corrupted the ballot-box, bought legislators of state and nation, and has not stopped at the inmost sanctuary of the courts of justice. By this means it has been enabled to acquire public lands, forests, and mines at a fraction of their value, or even without any compensation to the public at all; it has secured exclusive franchises; laws restricting competition; exemption from taxation; privileges innumerable; by which the people have been compelled to pay enormous indirect taxes, not to the government, but to private corporations and individuals, selling their labour or their raw product for less than they are worth, or buying the finished product for more than it is worth, or both. The

result is not only that private individuals have come into the possession of annual revenues far exceeding the former revenues of kings and empires, but they have acquired a power over the destinies of their fellow men greater than the might of armies and navies could ever have given them.

Now is this a benevolent despotism? Is this tremendous power used wisely and rightly for the betterment of social conditions, for making good men and women, for promoting the moral welfare and the true happiness of the human race? Emphatically no. Making all due allowance for contributions to churches, schools and colleges, hospitals, art galleries, libraries, etc., etc., these gifts, though they amount to hundreds of millions, are but a fraction of what has been flagrantly abused for selfish ends, even at the expense of the promotion of sin and vice and misery of every kind. Let us beware of that blind optimism which ignores dangerous forces and harmful tendencies and will not look the evil of the times in the face. Such blind optimism of faith will result in the pessimism of fact.

It was inevitable that the revelation of this condition of affairs, together with the education of the people in the sense of their rights, and with the awakening of the public conscience, should lead to conflict. It has already manifested itself in social and political unrest, in lines of cross division in old political parties deeper than the lines which separated the old parties from one another.

This new revolution, like the old, will not be successful unless it is at bottom a moral conflict, and for the same reasons.

In no other way can the motives be aroused which will sustain men in the hardships necessary to such a struggle, and fortify them for endurance unto the end. For let no man think that the final victory can be attained without hardships and sacrifices. The tyrant Selfishness never yet yielded any of its power without a fierce struggle, and it is idle to expect that it will do so now. Even if it do not result in actual war,—and God grant that it may not,—it will cost human life, it will cost poverty and suffering, it will require as much patriotism, as much heroism, as much voluntary self-sacrifice, as some of the wars in which our ancestors secured their freedom from a military despotism.

The politician who promises to reform economic and political abuses and to abolish all privilege in legislation without hurting business is promising what he cannot perform. As well might a surgeon, before the days of anæsthetics, promise to perform a necessary operation without causing pain;—and unfortunately no anæsthetic has been discovered which can be administered to the body politic while it is undergoing a necessary operation for the public health. If any effective legislation is passed which will make it impossible to pay dividends on watered stocks, the price of those stocks will go down. If monopolies are either abolished or regulated so that their revenues are reduced, the income of their

stockholders and the wages of their labourers will be reduced. If there has been privilege in tariff legislation and those tariffs are abolished or lowered, the business which has prospered more than it ought to have done under such tariffs will suffer. And the practical effect will be the same whether such reduction is made on the principle of a tariff for revenue with incidental protection or on the principle of protection based upon the difference in the cost of production.

But a physician cannot perform an operation on a diseased portion of the body without hurting the whole body. Our economic system is so organized that no one portion of business can be hurt without hurting all to a greater or less extent and for a greater or longer time. Unfortunately the injury will not fall only upon the guilty, or upon those to whom the loss of a few hundreds of thousands in their income will work no real hardship. It will affect the incomes of widows and orphans, the wages of labourers, the salaries of employees. Every one knows that when the currency of any country has been inflated it cannot be contracted to its normal amount without causing loss to innocent people. The same principle applies to the inflation of stocks. To attempt, all at once, to reduce the earning power of these to the physical valuation of the properties they represent, or even to the amount of capital actually invested, would cause suffering greater even than of a war.

But a wise physician, in performing a necessary operation on his patient, will use all his skill to

cause as little suffering and danger as possible. Wise statesmen will recognize the necessity of the gradual reform of abuses so as to cause as little injury as possible to the business prosperity of the country. That is the most that any man can promise with any hope of keeping his promise. But unless a necessary operation is performed, the disease will ultimately cause greater pain than the most severe operation, and may result in death.

Now unless the people are prepared to undergo whatever hardships may be necessary for the cure of social evils, it is useless for even our wisest statesmen to attempt that cure. So long as the full dinner pail, the well paid job, the comfortable salary, the big dividend, and the prosperity of business are the only considerations, the financial serf will continue to submit to his financial overlord. A despotism of wealth which is wise enough to give to its subjects a sufficient share of the increase of the nation's prosperity to keep them measurably contented might last long without resistance. Even though, emboldened by past success, it may become tyrannical and oppressive, so long as the alternative is hard times, low wages, loss of job or situation, the stagnation of business, with all the suffering entailed, the subjects may continue to submit to the ills they have rather than fly to others which are worse. Even if they are aroused to resistance and have entered upon the conflict without having counted the cost, they will abandon it as soon as they realize the hardships, unless they are sustained by a better mo-

tive than selfishness, and a stronger motive than even self-interest. It is easy enough to get a man to vote against a party or an administration because he holds it responsible for the fact that his dollar of wages will buy no more than fifty cents did twenty years ago; but when he finds that remedial legislation will reduce that dollar to seventy-five or even ninety cents he is just as apt to vote against the new administration at the next election. The farmer is very ready to vote for the lowering of the tariff which cheapens his clothing and his implements but it must not reduce the price of cotton, wheat or corn.

There are many whose idea of the square deal is that society should be turned upside down, that the poor should become rich and the rich poor, that those who are labourers should become capitalists and the capitalists become labourers. Such men are ready enough to hail as a popular saviour any politician who promises to right their wrongs, but when they find that he means to do *no more* than right their wrongs, that he means to be as fair to honestly earned capital as he is to labour, they are just as apt to turn upon him and brand him a liar and a traitor. The same crowd which shouts Hosanna! one day will cry Crucify Him! the next day. Woe be to any cause if its leaders have no better motive than selfish ambition for espousing it, and if its followers have no more enduring motive than self-interest for enlisting in its armies!

But if, as in days past, the issue is seen to be, not one of mere utilitarian considerations, but one of

right and justice, then history will repeat itself, and the people will be fortified to endure such hardships as may be necessary in the unbloody revolutions of to-day, as they were in the bloody revolutions of the past. But they must recognize that it is none the less a *war*, and that once engaged it must be carried to a successful issue in order to secure the blessings of a lasting peace.

Again as in the past, so now there is no hope that this revolution will be a successful one so long as men are divided in this struggle into classes based upon purely selfish considerations. If the contest is to be between the poor and the rich the poor must inevitably be defeated; if it is to be between labour and capital, the capitalist will win in the end; if it is to be between the corporate producer and the individual consumer, the consumer must continue to pay his tax, however exorbitant, to corporate wealth. As the people could never have been liberated without the leadership of their princes, as the slaves could never have been emancipated without the aid of the dominant race, so there is no hope for the poor unless they can find leaders among those whose natural affiliations would enlist them in the cause of wealth. Sheer superiority of numbers can never give them more than a temporary victory. The cause needs money, and it must come from men who belong to the aristocracy of wealth. It needs men of brains,—lawyers, judges, politicians, statesmen, preachers, and writers, and it cannot

hope to outbid the price which the other side is always willing to pay for talent. It needs women of talent, education, refinement, and character, who are willing to sacrifice the pleasures of society, and, if need be, their own social rank, for the sake of service to the people's cause.

But this division of classes can never be made if material and selfish considerations alone are at stake. There is only one thing that will prevail upon men and women to forsake all their natural and selfish alliances and sacrifice self-interest in the cause of their country and their fellow men, and that is the power of conscience and of love. Those who do thus forsake their class for the people's cause must be prepared not only for the contempt and ostracism of their own class, but for the ingratitude of the very people whom they serve. The politician who all his life has refused the temptation and the bribes of wealth and honour for the sake of justice must be prepared to see another reap all the rewards of his self-sacrifice. If he be steadfast in his duty to the cause, the man who is to-day the idol of the people may be to-morrow the object of their contempt, or at best forgotten. The man who sulks in his tent when he finds that his services do not receive their due meed of praise would better not offer his services at all. No selfish hope, not even that of a posthumous fame, can sustain a man in such a cause. That the cause is just must be the highest reason, and the love of the people must be the supreme motive.

THIRD LECTURE

The Church and the Social Reforms of To-day

VIII

THE METHODS OF CHURCH AND STATE

WHAT business then is it of the Church, —all these political and economic aspects of the social problem? There are two meanings to this question.

On the one side it is a disclaimer of responsibility on the part of the Church either for the existence of political and economic evils or for their betterment; and represents a fear, very well grounded in the experience of the past, that any attempt on the part of the Church to deal with such problems will divert her from her mission of preaching the Gospel and saving souls, and further increase her already badly divided condition by cross divisions on political and economic questions.

On the other side it is a resentment of the interference of the Church in matters which, it is claimed, are no business of hers, and represents a fear, also well grounded in past experience, that the Church may usurp civil authority, claim the right to dictate to her members their political and economic creeds, and attempt to enforce them, as well as her own dogmas, by civil penalties.

While there is right in both these contentions, it is at the same time true that the Church cannot afford to ignore social conditions or to let them

alone, nor can society afford to dispense with the aid of the Church in bettering economic and political conditions.

It becomes very important then to find a correct answer to the question, What business is it of the Church? in both its meanings; and to state as clearly as brevity will admit both the grounds on which the Church may make social conditions her business and the methods she may use in bettering them.

Church and State both seek the same ultimate end, that is, so far as the present life is concerned; the attainment of the ideal of the moral welfare of humanity and of its resulting happiness, not only for the greatest number of individuals, but for the social organism; and the accompanying perfection of all those relations by which individuals become members of one body. But in their proximate ends, and in the methods they may rightfully use in the pursuit of those ends, Church and State differ fundamentally.

Broadly stated, the Church aims to make all men good; the State aims to keep bad men from doing harm, and to protect good men in their possession of the means of doing good. Again broadly speaking, the fundamental principle and motive of the Church is love, while that of the State is distributive justice. The function of the State is to protect its citizens who deserve happiness by the pursuit of virtue from those who have forfeited their right to happiness by the pursuit of pleasure in vicious forms.

But while the *ground* of the authority of the State lies in distributive justice, the *end* which it seeks is the protection of society and its constituent individuals from injustice. While the punishment of sane and responsible criminals depends, both for its restraining and remedial utility, upon the fact that it is deserved, yet the State does not punish for the sake of the satisfaction of justice beyond that extent which may be necessary for the protection of society.

The Church seeks the happiness of both the good and the bad, not indeed without respect to their desert, but by making both deserving of happiness. It seeks to make the bad happy by making them good, and to make the good happier by making them better. In other words, the Church seeks to save men from both the desert and consequences of their sins by redeeming and sanctifying them from sin itself.

It is very evident that this distinction forever precludes the Church from the use of force in seeking her ends, while it imposes upon the State the necessity of the use of force, at least up to a certain point. For force can never make men good, therefore the Church must use some other method than force. But force can prevent men from doing harm, from hindering others in doing good, or from depriving others of those means of doing good which constitute their rights, therefore the State must use the methods of force so far as they may be necessary to that end. Freedom in its broadest sense is necessary to the development of moral

character, therefore the Church can never interfere with that freedom; but for the protection of the freedom of those who use it rightfully it is necessary to restrain the freedom of those who use it wrongfully, therefore the State must have the power of coercion. The Church must arouse and appeal to the higher motives of love of God and man, love of righteousness and love of truth, but to those who will not respond to this appeal she can only threaten the execution of Divine justice. But when these motives fail to restrain men from violating the rights of their fellows, the State must appeal to the fear of the immediate execution of human justice; and if that fear fails, the State must protect its citizens by the execution of that justice, and by depriving the criminal of his power to do harm,—of his property, of his liberty, and, if need be, of his life. Maudlin sympathy which lets the guilty go unwhipped of justice is not only an injustice, but a want of love to the innocent.

While the Church, therefore, may never use the methods of the State in seeking her peculiar ends, nor even ask the State to use those methods to enforce her doctrines and her commandments, yet she may and must demand, not only that the State shall not interfere with her in the use of her own methods, but shall protect her in the use of those methods from those who would violate the freedom of the Church, of her members, or of those whom she is seeking to save.

These principles, thus broadly stated, while they

are fundamental, are only elicited by the experience of history, and constitute the basis of that complete separation of Church and State which is at once a fundamental article of the creed of our own Church and of the constitution of our own country.

But the law of continuity seems to hold good in the moral as well as in the physical world. While the broad distinctions are clear enough, and while some cases fall easily into the one class or the other, yet it is as difficult sometimes to apply these principles to concrete cases as it is to distinguish between vertebrates and invertebrates or to say whether an organism belongs to the vegetable or to the animal kingdom. Both statesmen and churchmen are as apt to err from excess of conservatism in the application of these principles as from radicalism in departing from them. Nor is it one of those matters of which it can be said that it is better "to err on the safe side"; because it is just as difficult to determine which is the safe side. Between a rigorous anti-paternalistic theory of the power of the State and a rigorous "ministerial and declarative" theory of the power of the Church lies a very large territory of human life and interest left without any organized government or concerted effort.

This difficulty of marking exact boundary lines increases with the development of the complexity of society and of social relations. With the development of civilization arise many ways of violating human rights beside that of immediate use of

physical force, and the State must find other methods of protecting such rights beside that of the immediate application of physical force. To protect property the natural sources of wealth must be protected from selfish appropriation by individuals or corporations; labour must be protected from compulsory wages or from competition with compulsory wages; the consumer must be protected from compulsory prices; capital must be protected from practical confiscation by labour or by the consumer or by other capital. Similar indirect violations of liberty and life must be prevented by civil law; such as labour under conditions injurious to health or life, when such conditions are capable of remedy. The State must protect not only individuals but the relations which constitute society and the rights belonging to such relations. It must protect its own institutions and laws, its own officials in the exercise of their authority. In addition to these judicial functions, the State is compelled to lend itself as the organ through which society may perform certain administrative functions for the general welfare, such as public improvements, public schools, hospitals, post-office, etc. Once the State assumes the task of carrying the public mail, it is no longer a question of principle, but of expediency, as to whether it shall assume control of railroads, express, telegraphs, etc. How far this may be wisely carried is one of the problems of the immediate future.

Similarly the Church finds herself compelled to do other things beside preaching the Gospel from

her pulpits. She maintains schools in which not only theological doctrine, but all branches of secular learning, including politics and economics, are taught; she controls industrial schools; supports hospitals; sends out medical missionaries; publishes and sells books. In large centres of population she finds it necessary to engage in various forms of social service in order to bring men within reach of her message.

Under a strict theory of the powers of Church and State, either most of these things would have to go undone, or be done in an unorganized way by individuals, or some third organism between Church and State must be developed to perform such functions for the general welfare. No state and no party was ever consistently anti-paternalistic, and no Church ever rigidly confined itself to the exercise of ministerial and declarative power. But it may be rightly said that the State performs such functions under the general policy of conserving and promoting the material conditions for the free exercise of the powers of individuals in the pursuit of their own and the social welfare; while the Church subordinates all such functions to the task of redeeming and sanctifying men through her Gospel. But the statement that the Church can never use force for any purpose, and the State can never use it in the deprivation of individual rights unless those rights have ceased to be rights by forfeiture on grounds of justice, seems to need no serious qualification.

Church and State are concerned with the same individuals. All members of the Church are members of the State, and while not all members of the State are members of the Church, yet the Church is seeking to make them so, and she is therefore as much concerned with the freedom of those to hear her message as she is with that of her members to deliver it.

Again, the same fundamental principles of morality underlie jurisprudence and politics on the one hand, and theology on the other. Rights, to be such in any moral sense, must have an ethical basis and an ethical end. Otherwise our rights are nothing more than the correlative instincts which we have in common with all animals, our laws are nothing more than the compromises of self-interest, justice nothing more than an umpire to enforce the rules of the contest, punishment nothing more than an expedient to make it more painful for the individual to disobey than to obey the will of the majority or the stronger.

These great moral principles, while they are much more clearly stated in the Bible than they ever were anywhere else, are not matters of revelation in the strict sense. They are assumed and incorporated into the system of Christian doctrine, and all the doctrines of revelation in the stricter sense must be consistent with them. Any system claiming to be a revelation which violated these fundamental principles would, *ipso facto*, invalidate all its proofs of Divine origin. The interpretation of these princi-

ples as a rule of life, and as a guide to duty in every relation of life, is as truly a part of the Church's message as those more distinctive doctrines of redemption which are the content of revelation proper.

The Church therefore has a message for her members in their social relations; for rulers, for judges, for politicians, as well as for citizens. She has the right to define the moral end of society, and to expound the moral principles upon which human rights are based, and the general rules which should govern men in the pursuit of such ends, not only in individual conduct, but in their organized effort, in their political and economic institutions.

But there is a large field of practice which must be governed by utilitarian maxims drawn from human life and experience. It is just in this field that the Church has so often usurped authority and attempted to bind the conscience of her members. The great major premises of conduct the Church may preach with all the authority of a Divine commission; but the minor premises, which determine the concrete application, she may not preach, nor enforce even with her own spiritual sanctions. It is not so much a question as to whether the Church may make political deliverances, but whether she may make any other political deliverances than she has express warrant for in her Divine commission.

There are then four very good reasons why the Church not only may, but must and ought to make social conditions her business; first, that these social

conditions affect the freedom of her members and of those whom she is seeking to save; second, that she has a message for these social conditions; third, that her members have a very large part in determining these social conditions; and fourth, that which, if not the most important, has most need of emphasis now, that the mission of the Church is not only the saving of individual souls, but the realization of the kingdom of heaven upon earth,—a mission which requires not only the sanctification of individuals, but the purification of all those social relations by which the human race is bound into one great body.

In general it may be said that the State in its development tends more and more to promote the moral welfare of individuals by the betterment of social institutions; and by opening the way for the moral forces of society, including the Church: while the Church promotes the purification of social institutions, including the State, by her sanctifying influence upon individuals, and by equipping them for service in all the social relations.

The Church, therefore, as an organization, cannot and ought not to engage in secular reforms, political or economic. She always makes mischief when she does so. She turns aside from her own proper mission, and, at the same time, violates the freedom of conscience of her members. The only real good the Church has ever done in promoting such reforms is by her influence in forming the character,

the principles, and the motives of the men and women whose real business in life it is to engage in such services to business, to society, and the State. She can reform law by reforming the lawyers and judges, she can reform politics by reforming the politicians, she can reform business by reforming the business men, she can reform society by reforming social leaders, and in no other way. But she cannot do this if she makes it merely incidental to the saving of the souls of lawyers, politicians, business men, and social leaders, in another world. As long as they regard her message merely as a means of escaping the punishment of sins committed in these relations the Church will never do society any good through such members, —even if she should finally succeed in keeping them out of hell. She must regard it as one of the main purposes of her institution to equip them for service here in this world, and in just those relations; and she must deliver her message in such a way that they so understand it. Let her preach the Gospel as a rule of justification; *but she must preach the law as a rule of life, and insist that obedience to it in all the relations of life is the only valid evidence of a saving faith.* The epistle of James must be preached as well as those of Paul. Too much of "other-world hedonism" has crept into the ethics of our Christian pulpits. Selfishness is none the less selfishness because the pains it shuns and the pleasures it seeks are those of another world.

IX

THE PRESENT ISSUE A MORAL ISSUE

IS the present issue, then, one of mere material utilitarianism, or is it one of principle and righteousness? Is it one which will appeal to conscience against selfishness?

So long as the question is confined to creeds, and to creeds which are concerned solely or chiefly with the conditions of salvation in a world to come, there is no reason to fear this new despotism. James I is reputed to have said that Presbytery agreed with monarchy as God with the devil. Therefore he and his successors sought to overthrow presbytery. It is not so with this new despotism. It does not care whether you are a sceptic or a believer, Christian or Jew, orthodox or liberal, Calvinist or Arminian, prelatist or Presbyterian, Protestant or Catholic. It is absolutely impartial to all forms of church government, to all forms of worship, to all creeds and confessions, so long as they are regarded as means of keeping out of hell and getting into heaven,—*after death.*

But attempt to put these creeds into practice in the concerns of the life that now is, attempt to apply the ethics of Jesus Christ to business and to politics, attempt to save men and women from the

hells that are here on earth, and you will encounter a very different situation. Just so soon as our creeds become vital to the issues of this life they become dangerous to the tyranny of wealth. They agree with Mammon as God with the devil. Mammon is perfectly willing that you should console the wronged with the hopes of a heaven hereafter while you preach resignation to the wrongs which they are now suffering. But raise your protest against these wrongs and you will encounter all the hate of the devil.

Go to any city, attempt to prohibit, or even to restrict, the liquor traffic, to suppress gambling, to abolish commercialized prostitution; or even if you attempt no more than to rescue individual victims of the saloon, the gambling hell, and the brothel; and, before you are aware of it, you will find yourself in conflict with the police, with magistrates and mayors, with ward bosses and city politicians. Carry your fight on to the state government and you will find that the municipal machine is an integral part of the state machine. Carry it to the national party organizations and you will find that the corruption goes to the very top. Appeal from one party to another and you will find that the corrupt element in each is in league with that of the other against the better element in both. "*The grafters all belong to one party.*"

Now we cannot believe all that we read in the so-called "muck-raking" periodicals. But while they may have told some lies they have not told half

the truth. By the way, our esteemed ex-president, or whoever it was that gave that term its new application, had forgotten his Pilgrim's Progress. According to Bunyan, the muck-raker is the man who is after the dollars, not the man who is after him. True, some writers and some periodicals may deserve the term for that very reason, for the baiting of the plutocrats has recently become a very popular and a money-making sport. But by no means all, or even the greater part, of the testimony can be so impeached. The testimony of Judge Lindsay drawn from his experience in seeking to save boy criminals, and of Jane Addams of her experience in rescuing the victims of commercialized prostitution, cannot be ignored. All of us who have engaged in such lines of practical religious work can testify, from experience on a smaller scale, that these things are true.

Boys are made criminals, women are made harlots, men are made drunkards and gamblers, not only for the immediate profit of those who are engaged in these nefarious trades, but for the sake of political power. That again is prostituted to the enhancing of the wealth of those who may be holding pews in aristocratic churches. Vice of all kinds stalks unmolested in our cities, even crime goes unpunished, because the saloon-keepers, the professional gamblers, the pimps and the panderers, as well as the police and the politicians who protect them, are private soldiers or petty officers in the great army of Mammon, more completely organized

and equipped than the armies of any world-conquering tyrant of the past.

What is the bond which unites these armies? The love of money. What is the cause for which they fight? The maintenance of Mammon on his throne. What are the weapons? Dollars, jobs, contracts, opportunities for graft, offices all the way up, all of which mean money and nothing but money. The vices of the lower kind, which may be the result of corrupted appetites and passions, are exploited by that cold, calculating, devilish form of human selfishness which is expressed by love of money. Vice is protected because the hirelings who pander to these bad passions are necessary to some boss's control of his party, for some man's election to high office in state or nation, for legislation and judicial decisions which enable those who furnish the money for party organizations to exploit their fellow men, and to exact from them an exorbitant tax upon every necessary, as well as every comfort of life. Polygamy, the white slave traffic, the liquor traffic, the gambling profession are under the protection of the great god Mammon, and we can never hope to exterminate these evils completely and permanently as long as we leave Mammon on his throne. His revenues must be collected, though it cost the starvation of men and women, the labour of little children, the debauching of young men, the ruin of young girls. His control of legislation must be preserved though it cost the prostitution of the talents of our lawyers, the dis-

honour of statesmen, the servility of preachers, and the sycophancy of college presidents. Threaten him with hostile legislation or the enforcement of existing laws which may diminish his revenues, and he can in one day precipitate a panic far more costly in human life and suffering than the bloodiest battle ever fought. Appeal from your political organizations to the people, and you will be met by fraud in elections, by bribery and intimidation of voters. The labourer who votes against his ticket will lose his job, the salaried man will be discharged, the professional man will suffer in his practice, the store will lose its customers and its credit, the newspaper will lose its advertisers, the bank will lose its depositors, its borrowers, and its financial connections.

This is not all. There are large classes, not only of the vicious and criminal, but of the extremely poor, from which the Church with her message is as completely shut out as she ever was from the hermit nations of the East. We are not supposed to know who are the elect or their number; but I venture to say that any well-informed statistician can tell you within ten per cent. how many of them will be gathered into the Church during the coming year, and that the very large majority of them will be from that middle class whose social conditions are such that they are accessible to the Church and receptive to her message. We must face the fact that, in the increasing centres of population, the

decreasing proportion of those who attend the church services is largely due to social conditions; and that poverty is one of the potent causes of indifference to religion as well as of vice and crime.

Now the Church and her members are by no means without responsibility for the existence of these evils, still less for their betterment. Mammon has, to a large extent, perverted the Church as well as other social institutions. Officials of his system are to be found in her sessions, on her executive boards, among the directors in her colleges and theological seminaries. A considerable proportion of the pastors' salaries, home and foreign mission funds are contributed from the revenues of this despotism. Her colleges and her theological seminaries are largely endowed with money from watered stocks and exorbitant dividends. If the Church were to attempt to draw the line and say that she would accept no "tainted money" she would have to curtail her home and foreign mission work, and close many of her colleges and seminaries.

But the Church can accept contributions from such sources only when it cannot be more directly returned to those from whom it has been wrongfully taken, and when the Church and her agencies seem to be the only means of returning to society the wealth of which it has been despoiled by a vicious system. Even then it must be with the distinct understanding that contributions from such sources cannot purchase the independence of

preachers and professors, or silence the testimony of the Church against wrongs, or bribe her to hold back that part of her King's message which concerns the sin of her own wealthy members.

The Church is subject to suspicion and distrust by the very class who are most in need of her message because so large a proportion of the money which supports her educational and evangelistic work comes from such sources. It is asked, with too much reason for the question, Is there no danger to religious liberty in such a condition of things? Is there no temptation to the preacher to hold back or smooth over the "hard sayings" of his Master when plain preaching might give offense to the most influential of his pewholders? Can absolute academic freedom exist in universities and colleges when so large a proportion of their endowments comes from the multi-millionaires? Can the professors be free from the suspicion of bias in holding political and economic theories which are acceptable to those who pay their salaries? When college presidents volunteer as counsel for the defense of trust magnates who are arraigned before the bar of public opinion, is there no reason to suspect interested motives?

But there is need of caution here lest we do injustice. Not only do not all, or even the majority, of church officers belong to this class, but we must not charge even the men of this very class with deliberate and self-conscious hypocrisy. It is impossible to doubt that many, perhaps most of them

are sincere in thinking that they are doing their duty,—*as they see it.* But that is just the point. They do not see their duty. That they do not is of course partly their own fault, but it is largely due to the vicious system which has warped their judgment, and, to a very considerable degree, to the fact that the churches to which these men belong have not told them plainly what their duty is. The orthodox churches have emphasized the salvation of individuals for the life to come almost to the exclusion of the teachings of Jesus which apply to social problems and to the promotion of His kingdom here in this world. Such benefits as human relations and social institutions may derive from the ethical teachings of Christ seem to be regarded by many orthodox teachers as no part of the Divine purpose, but merely incidental consequences of the salvation of the elect. The dogs get the crumbs which fall from the children's table. The orthodox churches are permitting the rationalists to appropriate just that part of the teachings of our Lord which are most vital to the times.

It is true that society cannot be regenerated except by the regeneration of its constituent individuals, and it is also true that individuals can never be regenerated by a mere change in the environment of social conditions; but it is also true that there are social evils which must be remedied by those who are regenerate in order that the Church may reach the unregenerate with her saving message. The Church is never going to reach the

masses of the underworld, not only of vice and crime, but of poverty, until she addresses herself to the task of removing the social evils which either put them out of the reach of her message or render them deaf to it. She can never do this unless she teaches her capitalists, her lawyers, and her politicians, a very much wider conception of their duty than that of giving money to pastors' salaries, to missions, and to the endowment of denominational colleges and theological seminaries.

The Church of to-day is in danger of preaching a doctrine of indulgences very much more dangerous than that of Tetzel,—that if her members will give a tithe of their incomes to the support of the Church it is no concern of hers how they get their money or what they do with the rest of it. She has the warrant and it is her duty to teach them that not only the tenth of their incomes or salaries, but their capital, their professions, their offices, must be used in the service of God and man and in the promotion of Christ's kingdom on earth.

There is a large class of members in the Church who are not capitalists themselves, but are allied by self-interest with capital. They are either the salaried employees of corporations or are engaged in forms of business or belong to professions whose prosperity depends upon the favour of capital. These men are not all hypocrites either. But there is danger that their financial interests will bias not only their political views but their consciences. It is not our purpose to brand all such church-mem-

bers and officers as hypocrites, but, if possible, *to convict even good men of sin in these respects*, and to arouse their consciences to their duty.

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that church-members love money too much, and that Mammon has corrupted the Church itself. There is so much competition among the churches in our large cities that if any preacher should drive away his wealthy members by plain preaching there are complaisant preachers and churches who will be only too glad to get them and keep them. The prophecy has been fulfilled, "after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears." There are too many prophets to-day who comply with the demand, "Prophesy unto us *smooth* things."

The Church and her constituency cannot be acquitted of responsibility for the existence of social evils. If church-members and officers who are stockholders and directors in corporations, or their salaried employees, do not directly participate in the evil practices of politics, they permit these things to be done in their interest. If they do not know that such things are done they ought to know it. If they purposely blind themselves to the facts, they are guilty as accessories before the fact as well as after.

This is, therefore, no mere issue of material welfare. It is a question of morals, of the virtue of women and of the honour of men. It is a question involving religious liberty, the freedom of thought

and conscience. Though it may not involve the right of holding and preaching doctrines which concern salvation hereafter, it does involve the right of holding and preaching that aspect of those same doctrines which concerns salvation here and now. And just because it is so it is one from which the Church cannot hold aloof, any more than she could keep out of the conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

If the Church, in the strict sense, as an ecclesiastical organization, cannot go into politics and business, her members can. And it is her right and her duty to preach to them those principles contained in her commission which they must put into practice in their relations to business, to politics, and to society. The separation of Church and State does not mean that morals and religion must be kept out of politics. That the Church herself must not engage in secular reforms is not to be interpreted to mean that her preachers and her members shall have nothing to do with such reforms. That the ecclesiastical organization itself cannot be used to promote such reforms must not mean that preachers and church-members may not form voluntary and interdenominational organizations in order to unify and systematize their work for social reforms. It is true that, if they do it, all those who make money out of human vice, or who exploit vice for political and financial ends, will raise a howl because "the churches and the preachers are meddling in politics." Let them howl.

While the Church cannot herself use the methods of force in dealing with social evils, yet, since she holds that the State is an ordinance of God, she is not without warrant for preaching to the officers of the State their duty in the execution of justice. She has express warrant for preaching that the civil magistrate, whether king, president, governor, mayor, congressman or legislator; whether justice, judge, sheriff or policeman, is the servant of God for the protection of obedient citizens and an avenger to execute wrath upon those who wrong their fellow men; and that, as God's servants, all such officers must answer to Him for the prostitution of their offices for private gain. She has the right to preach that public office is not only a public trust, but a trust from God. She has the right to preach that, since the voter is to that extent a ruler, he is responsible to God for the exercise of the franchise. She may not name the men for whom her members shall vote, but she may tell them that they must vote for just and honest men. She can tell them that the man who sells his vote is a prostitute, and the man who buys it a seducer. If she has no commission to frame a tariff bill, a system of banking and currency, a trust law, or a law for the regulation of the liquor traffic, she nevertheless has the commission to preach that all such laws must embody the principles of honesty, truth, and justice. Though she cannot ask the help of the State to make men good, she has the right to ask that the State shall make and enforce the laws

which prevent the exploiters of vice from making men bad. She cannot ask the State to enforce her doctrines, but she can ask the State to protect those whom she is seeking to save from the wrongs which make it impossible for her to reach so large a mass of the needy with her Gospel.

By the Word and the Spirit the Church can fit her members with the principles and motives which equip them for service in all these social relations. She can send forth both soldiers and leaders to this great war for righteousness. She has done it in the past, and she is doing it to-day. Many of the men who are best known in the politics of to-day as champions of freedom's cause are sons of the Church.

X

FORCE AND FEAR—NECESSARY BUT INADEQUATE

THE Church, then, must adapt her message to a new age and new conditions. Not that the time has come or will ever come when we can dispense with the old doctrines. It is the new branch indeed which bears the fruit, but it draws its sap from the old trunk. The theology of the Reformation no doubt did lay undue stress upon the retributive justice of God. But the time has not come when even that truth does not need emphasis. Whatever may be our views of the nature of retribution, we must still preach that the God of justice will punish sin, that there shall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, and that without respect of persons. There is especial need to-day of the threat of Divine wrath against the oppression of the poor.[1]

[1] "Come now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries that are coming upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and your silver are rusted; and their rust shall be for a testimony against you, and shall eat your flesh as fire. Ye have laid up your treasure in the last days. Behold the hire of the labourers . . . which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out; and their cries have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived delicately on the earth, and taken your pleasure; ye have nourished your hearts in a day of slaughter."—*James v. 1–6.*

The man who makes his money, whether by the dollar or by the million, by pandering to vice or at the cost of virtue, must be summoned to the judgment bar of God. The commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," must be thundered at every man who makes money without giving a fair equivalent for it, whether he does it in violation of human law or with the connivance of it. We are not yet ready to dispense with either hell or the penitentiary. The threat of justice, here and hereafter, must be held over the predatory rich as well as the predatory poor, even though they pay both the judge's and the preacher's salary.

Either a jurisprudence or a theology which is devoid of retributive justice is not only without power to protect the righteous, but without power to save the sinner. Society has no more dangerous enemy than that sentimentalism which would dispense with justice in dealing with the wrong-doer. But it must be *Justice*, not vindictive wrath, or revenge, or even mere resentment. Retributive justice, to be worthy of the name, must imply the righteousness of the authority which inflicts the punishment, as well as the guilt of the criminal. In its own nature, justice, with the punishment it inflicts, is remedial. It is the surgeon whose operation is essential to restoration to health. If the object submit to justice and acquiesce in its sentence, he has passed through a process which is necessary to his healing and restoration to virtue. If it make him a desperado, it is because of his own hatred of justice. Whether it

will make him a better or worse man will depend upon his own voluntary attitude towards justice.

Unfortunately, not only is justice abstracted from love in much of our theological and ethical speculation, but they are too often separated in their exercise in our social and criminal codes. There is too little of love for the criminal himself, and too little regard for his restoration to good citizenship. What too often masks itself as justice is nothing but the selfishness of the strong or the many wreaking its vengeance upon the weak or the few. From the standpoint of the higher law, those who make and enforce the laws are sometimes worse men than those whom they send to the jail or the gallows. Still further, society, so far from accepting its own punishment as a satisfaction to its law, regards that punishment as a deeper disgrace than the crime. It gathers up its pharisaic skirts lest they touch the man who has worn the convict's garb or the woman whose shame has become public, while it fawns upon greater thieves and worse harlots whose sin it has not been forced to recognize. All this, combined with inequality in the distribution of justice, tends to make our penal institutions schools of crime.

Justice, in its distributive aspect, is essential as an arbiter between the conflicting claims of self-interest; in its retributive aspect, as the protector of rights against the usurpations of selfishness. When the Church denies or ignores the Divine justice in her message, she undermines the very foundations of human justice.

But what is selfishness? How is it to be distinguished from self-interest? This question must be answered in order to distinguish justice from mere resentment.

There are two kinds of selfishness. There is the naive selfishness which seeks the immediate gratification of desires or the pleasures of the moment, without thought of consequences either to ourselves or others. In this sense it may be said that we are all more or less selfish. This form of selfishness is especially characteristic of children, and of child-like or undeveloped races.

Such selfishness cannot last long in the moral progress either of an individual or a race, whichever direction such moral progress may take. It must give place either to a more deliberate selfishness or to a purposive endeavour after the moral end. Such naive selfishness finds itself opposed by prudence, which compels us to consider the future painful consequences of present gratification; by the natural affections, which induce us to consider the consequences of self-gratification to those whom we love; by our moral sentiments, which command us to consider the consequences of self-gratification to the moral character of ourselves and others. It will find itself in conflict with the will of wisdom, love, and justice, as expressed in parental law, or in the law of society, or finally, in the law of God. Such a will seeks for its subjects, not mere pleasure, but righteousness, and that kind of happiness which is at once the consequence and the reward of right-

eousness; and that not for one or the few but for all.

When such conflicts arise either of two results may follow; naive self-will surrenders to the higher law, or it disobeys.

In the former case moral progress takes the direction of the development of virtue or character towards a moral ideal, both individual and social. Pleasure is subordinated to virtue. Virtue is not regarded merely as a means to pleasure, but as an end in itself, and happiness is defined in terms of virtue. In the latter case naive selfishness becomes deliberate selfishness whose supreme end is pleasure without regard to virtue or to any higher will. The moral progress of society will be in the direction of the perfection of Sin. Such a selfish man is no longer satisfied with taking himself as he is and seeking the pleasures of which he is already capable, and with taking the opportunities of environment as Nature furnishes them. He must seek the development of his own capacities for pleasure, and the adaptation of his environment, both physical and social, to the gratification of these cultivated desires for pleasure. Desires, whether sensual or spiritual, are stimulated or cultivated for the sake of their pleasure. All feelings which may involve the risk of pain or sorrow, even though they may be the noblest attributes of the human soul, must be atrophied. The drama and the novel are sought because the emotions which are aroused by the imaginary woes of fictitious heroes and heroines give

pleasure; while the sight and sound of the real suffering of real beings are shunned because the involuntary sympathy which they excite give pain. Not only literature and art, but even religion may be thus prostituted to the service of selfish pleasure.

But the selfish man cannot long remain merely selfish. While at first there may be no wish to wrong or injure others, sooner or later the issue will arise when he must make the choice, either of sacrificing his own pleasure for the sake of love and justice, or of violating both love and justice for his own pleasure. Love, justice, and truth, since they conflict with his pleasure, become his enemies, whether exemplified in human law, or personified in his fellow men or his God. If justice, human or Divine, oppose the self-will or pleasure, it must be either bought or silenced. Both the judge and the preacher must be bribed into complaisance or lose their offices and emoluments.

The pleasure seeker must avail himself of the labour of his fellows, and, since he has nothing of real value to give in exchange, he must either enslave or despoil them by one means or another, or seduce them with temptations to selfish pleasures like his own. The slave must sweat for his master's ease; the peasant must be taxed upon his necessaries to pay for the luxuries of his prince; thousands of poor men must be despoiled of the fruit of their labour to make one man rich. Those who cannot be enslaved must be corrupted. It is a question whether wealthy votaries of pleasure do a greater

harm to society by the enslavement of the labourers who earn their money for them, or by the prostitution of those who minister to their pleasure; whether the starvation wages paid to the one or the extravagant fees and tips paid to the other are the greater wrong.

Now what we call rights, such as life, liberty, and property, may be used as a means either to the pursuit of virtue or of pleasure. It is only when they are used as a means to man's true moral end, both individual and social, that they become rights, in the true sense of that word. When they are not so used, or when they are abused to selfish ends, they are forfeited. Human justice can pronounce and execute the sentence of forfeiture only when they are abused to the violation of the rights of others. But the Church must preach that Divine justice will pronounce and execute its sentence for the non-use or selfish perversion of them.

Money, which, on the one hand, represents the fruit of every kind of human labour, and on the other hand, is a means to the gratification of every kind of human desire, may therefore be a blessing or a curse. It may be earned by useful labour of hand or brain, and used as a means of further service to God and man; or it may be obtained without labour or by injurious labour and used for selfish ends. After all therefore the trouble is not money. Money which represents the labour of its possessor in the production of true values is a good thing, and every dollar of it is a silver medal for service.

It is because it is possible to get money without labour, and because it can buy the gratification of selfish and corrupt desires, that it becomes so dangerous. It is no longer a simple medium of exchange of value for value, of service for service, but a means of tyranny and of corruption. It is a means of enslaving the needy and of seducing the covetous. For these reasons the love of money becomes the last and most finished form of human selfishness. Money becomes the god Mammon because it is cast into a golden image of human selfishness.

The moral progress of society tends to the reconciliation of those conflicts which arise between true self-interest, because those attributes of love, justice, and truth which bind man to man in the social relations are the essential elements of the moral ideal. But between selfishness, especially in the form of the love of money as the instrument of pleasure, and the interests of society, there must be unrelenting war.

If, therefore, the selfish man cannot be persuaded by the higher motives to do good, he must be compelled by force and fear to refrain from doing harm. If he will not respect the rights of others he must be made to do it. The laws which exist must be enforced, and if new methods of wronging men have been evolved which were not foreseen by the lawmakers of the past, then new laws must be made to meet the new conditions. If Mammon has corrupted the lawmakers and the judges, the people

must put them out and put honest men in their places.

But while force and fear are thus necessary to prevent the hindrance of moral progress, they cannot promote it. This is not a revolution in which the final triumph can be achieved by musket and cannon or by dynamite and bombs. The only value of force and fear is as a means to dispensing with their own necessity. Threats of punishment, whether now or hereafter, cannot overthrow selfishness, for they are themselves appeals to selfishness.

Can Satan cast out Satan? Would it better our condition if a legion of devils were to revolt and overthrow Beelzebub the prince of devils? Can the selfishness of organized labour remedy the selfishness of organized capital? Much of the indiscriminate denunciation of the rich is the expression of the envy of the poor, who would take the rich man's money from him if they could, and use it in just the same selfish way. It is the selfishness of the many which makes the opportunity for the selfishness of the few. We shall continue to be ruled by money only so long as we deserve to be ruled by money. If it has power to compel our obedience by buying our votes, by hiring our talents, by purchasing our opinions, it is because we ourselves love money better than we do honour, truth, and justice.

Economic and political reforms can remove many unnecessary conflicts between legitimate self-interest and interest in the welfare of others or in the social welfare, between a man's love of his family and his

love of his neighbour or of his country, but they can do no more. In so far as this may be possible it is the duty of the Church, through her members, to promote such reforms. Whether some form of socialism, or application of socialistic principles, recognizing on the one hand the differences in the usefulness and desert of men and the resulting differences in their rights to property, while maintaining control, on the other hand, of public resources and public utilities to prevent their monopolization for private and selfish ends, may be the best means of promoting the moral progress of society, is a question which does not come within the scope of these lectures. Neither is that question within the scope of the Church's message. Jesus Christ was not a socialist, neither was He an anti-socialist. He taught neither political nor economic theory, but He did teach the ethical theory which must underlie all political and economic theory, and He defined the ethical end to which politics and economics are the means. The ethics, as well as the Gospel, of Christ is the Church's message; but she must leave to the unfettered intelligence and conscience of her members who are citizens the determination of the best political and economic methods.

But of what avail would it be to equalize opportunity if you cannot equalize ability? So long as some men are physically stronger than others, so long as some are intellectually superior to others, so long as some possess gifts of skill, talent, or genius which are denied to others, just so long will

they have power to exploit their fellow men under any political or economic system, if selfishness be the controlling motive in the use of these abilities.

If social equality could be brought about momentarily by some overwhelming revolution, out of the wreck of the old despotisms would arise some new Napoleon of genius or of finance to reënslave his fellows. If communistic production and ownership of wealth could be realized, a small number of gifted men would soon control its distribution, just as now a small coterie in the great corporations control the stock which they do not own. And if selfishness remain the controlling motive, who dare say that the distribution of wealth would not soon become as unequal and as unjust as it is to-day?

It is not enough to amend the code of warfare, so long as the struggle remains a war. War is hell, and no code which stops short of its abolition will ever make it anything else. It will remain a war so long as selfishness is the dominating motive in business and in politics.

Social conditions might be so changed as to remove needless conflicts between the good motives of men, but no change in environment can ever remove the conflict between their good and their bad motives without the aid of the higher moral and spiritual forces.

In the old days kings were made to understand that their power was a Divine right only so far as used for the moral welfare of their subjects and the protection of their individual rights as means to

that welfare. We must now come to understand that our individual rights are presumptive rights only as the necessary means to the discharge of moral obligation, and can become confirmed rights only by the right use of them in the performance of duty. But even when earned and confirmed, they never become absolute. Every acquired ability or possession must carry with it the further obligation to the use of it in the service of love. Under any purely juristic system, when we have respected the rights of others we are discharged from further obligation. Not so under a true theory of ethics. We are taught to say, "We are still unprofitable servants, for as yet we have done only that which justice required of us." There remains the higher obligation of love.

There is no real distinction between personal rights and property rights. All rights are personal. Capital has no rights, neither has labour. The rights of labour are the rights of the man who labours in useful service; the rights of capital, if they are rights at all, are the rights of the man who has earned the capital by his labour. They may be legal rights as long as the law recognizes the labour or the business by which they are supposed to have been earned; but if they have been acquired without labour, or by labour or business that is injurious to society, they are not moral rights. Some legal rights are moral wrongs.

So long as we regard our rights as absolute, to be used as we please for selfish ends, we have no

true conception of rights; so long as we regard justice as nothing more than an arbiter between the conflicting claims of selfishness, we have no true conception of justice.

Force and fear, therefore, are indispensable to the moral progress of society, but they are of value only as they are the instruments of justice. As instruments of passion and revenge they are worse than useless and will injure any cause in which they are so used. Even as instruments of justice they are inadequate to the attainment of the higher ends. Retributive justice must make way for distributive justice, and that, in turn, must make way for Love. The best that economic and political reforms can do for us is to furnish us better conditions for the operation of the higher moral and spiritual forces.

XI

CHRIST'S SOLUTION—THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN

NEARLY two thousand years ago Jesus Christ proposed a solution of these problems. When He, on the mountain in the wilderness, rejected a vision of worldly power and glory, a world kingdom which, there is good reason to believe, He might have established with the aid of the wealth, the patriotism, and the religious zeal of the Jews, with His eye of faith He saw another vision.

He saw a vision of a kingdom in which men should be governed, not by their baser, but by their nobler motives; not by the threat of the penitentiary or the gallows or of the fires of hell; not by force or fear, or by the hope of a selfish reward here or hereafter; not by the desire of pleasure, wealth, rank, or fame; but by the love of God and man, and by the love of righteousness and truth. He gave the constitution of this kingdom in one sentence: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thou shalt love thy neighbour (even though he be a Samaritan) as thyself." The King of this kingdom was to be King

by Divine right, but also by the sovereign election of every citizen of that kingdom. The power of the King was to be absolute, but every citizen was to be free. The King was to need no armies to protect Him on His throne, for that throne was to be in the hearts of His people. There should be no need of a capital city in that kingdom, no palace, no pomp of royalty, but the simplicity of love. There were to be no taxes in that kingdom, for all that the subject had was to be at the disposal of his King, and all the wealth of the King was to be used to bless His subjects. No need of jails and penitentiaries, for the righteousness of that kingdom was not to be the result of threats or bribes, but the righteousness of the heart. The law of that kingdom was to be no arbitrary command backed by omnipotence, but the expression of a Nature of infinite Love, Justice, and Truth; a law not to be imposed upon the subject from without, but wrought within his soul. The justice of that kingdom was not to be a mere exchange of equal service, but a justice which regards all that a man has, and is, or is capable of becoming, as owed to God and man in the service of love.

Jesus did not contemplate the abolition of inequalities of natural gifts in that kingdom, or of rank and authority, or perhaps even of wealth. But in His ideal of the kingdom He completely reverses the meaning and purpose of these inequalities as they prevail in the kingdoms of the world. "He that will be great among you," said He, "let

him be your servant." It is a great thought that it was not *although* but precisely *because* He knew that He came from God and went to God, *therefore* He took a towel and girded Himself and began to wash the disciples' feet. It was not an act of condescension, though it must seem so to us with our worldly conceptions of rank, but a manifestation of His royal authority and dignity, and an interpretation of it to His disciples. "Ye call Me Master and Lord; and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet." Rank and power, even in the Godhead, are Love's instruments of service. It is the law, then, of the kingdom of heaven, that service, beginning with the King Himself, shall make its way downward through all ranks of society, and not upward, as in the kingdoms of the world. It must be so, for its motive is Love, not Selfishness. In kingdoms where the ruling motive is selfishness, those who need most must serve most, and those who have most must be served most. In this kingdom, where the motive is Love, those who have most must serve those who need most. This is the slave morality at which Nietzsche rages and which Bernard Shaw derides, but it is the only morality which can produce the true Super-Man. So long as the struggle for existence is confined to material things, the law of the survival of the fittest applies to the strong who maintains his existence at the expense of the weak. But at that period in the unfolding of God's

eternal purpose when the spiritual supervenes upon the physical, the law is reversed. The fittest in the moral and the spiritual sense cannot survive by the destruction of the weak, but by its protection and preservation.

Intelligence can attain its highest and broadest development only in imparting its wisdom to the ignorant; virtue can approach its ideal of perfection only in the effort to save the vicious. Official rank can manifest its true dignity only in the service of its subjects. The highest social class is not that which gluts its pride in its contrast with the lowly, but it is that class which stoops in service to refine, to ennoble, and to purify those who are beneath. The true righteousness is not that of the Pharisee, which finds its chief satisfaction in its contrast with the sin of the publican, but that of Him who sits at meat with publicans and sinners, and whose feet are washed with the tears of the repentant harlot. Wealth can never purchase for its possessors the best gifts and the highest happiness until it is used to bless those who have it not.

But Jesus did not imply that the higher might not receive service from the lower. But when they are thus served, it must be in order that they themselves may better serve. When the great men of the world are using their talents and their rank in true service, we who serve them may feel that we are serving the world through them. The rivulets of our lives are flowing into the broad rivers of their lives. But when the idle and the selfish are served

by those beneath them, it is as if those living streams were flowing into a dead and landlocked sea.

Such then was the ideal of Jesus, not to abolish inequalities, but that those who possess these superior gifts shall use them, not to enslave their fellow men and make them minister to their own selfishness, but as opportunities and instruments for the service of love.

From that day to this the ideal of Jesus has seemed to the world an impossible dream. And no wonder, for it so far transcends all other ideals that it requires the interpretation of history to make men understand it, even more to believe in it. Even His early followers did not fully understand it, and they had no hope of its realization until He Himself should come in the clouds with the armies of heaven. After this millennial hope died in the early Church, the kingdom was regarded as something to be established in another world, or else to be postponed to some far distant epoch, after the fire should have destroyed the present order.

The Church, carried to the same mount of vision on which her Master stood, rejected the vision of a spiritual kingdom and chose one of worldly power and glory. She inscribed her sacred emblem upon the banners of earthly kings, drew the sword, and thus sought the conquest of the world. The result was that the Church became an accessory to almost every crime in history.

And still men are saying that these ideals are the impracticable visions of enthusiasts. Selfishness,

say they, always has been and always will be the dominant motive of human conduct. All that can be done is to change the rules of the game so that the strong shall not have too great an advantage over the weak. If that were true, who but the weak would wish to change the rules of the game?

Those who say this help to make it true by believing it and by saying it. Nothing is more calculated to promote selfishness than the belief that every other man is selfish. It is not true and never was true that selfishness is the strongest motive in human character. Whenever and wherever the love of God and man, the love of truth and righteousness, have once been awakened, they have prevailed over every selfish motive.

What makes the dream of Jesus impossible is that men believe it to be impossible. Yet faith never creates conditions of success where they do not exist. Faith makes no facts. Faith never created a physical force or a spiritual power. Faith, however sincere and earnest, never can convert error into truth. But faith can discover and release forces, physical and spiritual, which ignorance or unbelief has long suppressed.

All the wonderful forces in nature which men have utilized in our own age existed when man was yet in the ages of stone. By their discovery it has become possible to flash messages across the mountains, underneath and over the seas; to send great masses of steel and iron through the heart of the Alps across which Hannibal toiled so painfully; to send

our floating palaces across the seas which Columbus explored at such risk; to soar above the eagles in the clouds. But even to our grandfathers such forces were as though they did not exist, because they did not know they were there. When the inventors came unbelief threatened to destroy their ideas at their birth. It was only when some few souls believed in the possibility of the steamboat and the telegraph, and when the persistency of their faith conquered unbelief, that these things became possible. The history of all scientific progress has been that of the scepticism of the many conquered by the faith of the few. The very increase of wealth itself is due to the boldness of the faith of the few overcoming the timidity of the unbelief of the many. This is also true of the moral and social progress of the human race. The liberty which we now enjoy, imperfect though it be, would have seemed an impossible dream to all but a few enthusiasts four centuries ago. Because these few believed in it and were willing to live and die for it, we have come to see it. There are many things now impossible for no better reason than that men believe them to be impossible. If the majority of those who call themselves followers of the Prince of Peace would believe to-day that the abolition of war is possible, the disarmament of the nations would result to-morrow. Another half century will witness the abolition of many evils now deemed ineradicable. May it not be that Jesus for these two thousand years has been telling men of the exist-

ence of spiritual powers which would make His dream a reality even here in this world if men would only believe in these powers and use them?

In our day we have seen so many impossible things wrought by science that we have passed from the extreme of scepticism to that of credulity. We now dream of the possibility of things which the scientists know to be forever impossible. Have the ideals of Jesus, and the forces which He has revealed, wrought no miracles, no spiritual impossibilities, which should overcome our scepticism as to the power of His ideals to conquer the world? If one could put on Hans Andersen's goloshes of fortune, and transport himself to the streets of Jerusalem nineteen hundred years ago, and tell those Pharisees and Sadducees, and that mocking multitude, that the crucified Nazarene would, in two thousand years, rule a kingdom greater than that of Cæsar, that millions would flow into His treasury without taxation, that His armies would belt the earth, would he be believed? If he should only prophesy what has become history to us, would they not laugh him to scorn? Dare we say then, in the face of these impossibilities which have become facts, that the vision of Jesus shall never be realized?

Yes, some say, but far hence, many millenniums in the future. But reflect that the accelerated speed at which men traverse continents and oceans is typical of the accelerating progress of history. As we travel now in an hour as far as our ancestors travelled in a day at best, as we traverse the ocean

in as many days as it once required months, so is history in the making. A decade to-day is more than a century in the past, more than some millenniums. A semi-barbarous nation becomes a world power in a generation. A world-old monarchy becomes a republic in a year. As we have witnessed an acceleration of scientific and material progress in the nineteenth century almost equal to that of all past history, why may not those who live through the twentieth century witness a similar acceleration of humanitarian, moral and spiritual progress? These very inventions; these hurtling masses of steel and iron, spreading the people of all races all over the globe; this lightning, flashing the thoughts of men round the world; these great presses, rolling out magazines, newspapers and books; these wires which, like sensor nerves, bind humanity into one great feeling body, so that the sufferings of one are felt by all; constitute the very conditions and means of such acceleration of intellectual, moral, and spiritual progress. The material is the servant of the ideal, the physical is the vehicle of the spiritual. This vast accumulation of wealth itself, and the power which it gives, may prove to be the instrument of Providence in spreading the kingdom.

What hinders such a possibility? Human nature, it is replied. Human nature being what it is, a kingdom in which love and justice shall conquer selfishness is forever an impossibility. But has not

this power to transform human nature been manifested in the past? Is there a race of men so sunk in ignorance and vice that the Gospel of Christ has never been able to transform any of them? What class of sinners is there so base that in it have been wrought no miracles of redemption? It is not only that it has made honest men out of thieves, pure women out of harlots, preachers of the Gospel out of cannibals, saviours of men out of murderers, but what is far more difficult, it has converted avarice into philanthropy, covetousness into charity, pride into passion for souls. It has not only made apostles out of publicans, but has made them out of Pharisees. Furthermore, all that has been wrought in the moral progress of the human race has been wrought by those in whom love and justice were stronger than love of selfish ease and pleasure. The world so far has been merely experimenting with the principles and ideals of Jesus. But in so far as they have been tried they have been successful. In social institutions we are but now beginning to give them a trial. Judges are now using them with boy criminals, governors and wardens of penitentiaries are using them with convicts, pure women are using them with their lost sisters; and the results show that these methods are not only the best means of saving lost men and women, but the best means of protecting society from vice and crime. If men can only be got to believe in Jesus and to give His methods and principles a fair trial in all the relations of life, what may not be possible!

But if these ideals of Jesus be impossibilities, what is the alternative? Everything that men would substitute for them is either more visionary, or would fail to avert the inevitable result. If selfishness indeed cannot give place to love and justice in the government of the human race, sooner or later a revolution must come, not a moral and spiritual one, but one of force,—of dynamite and gunpowder; not a bloodless one, but the bloodiest ever seen in human history. We cannot keep on at this constantly accelerating rate of speed without getting somewhere, and our destination must be either the kingdom of heaven on earth or a hell of anarchy.

XII

THE NEW VISION

BUT to-day the Church is no longer divided between pre-millenarians who believe that the kingdom may come to-morrow with the literal appearance of Jesus in bodily form sitting on the clouds, and post-millenarians who believe that the kingdom may come some tens of thousands of years from now, or in some other world. Many in the Church are coming to believe that when Jesus taught us to pray, Thy kingdom COME; Thy will be done ON EARTH as it is in heaven; He meant exactly what He said: that His ideal of a kingdom of heaven is a social ideal, capable, if not of perfect consummation, of approximate and ever approximating realization here on earth, not only in the redemption of individual men and women, but in the purification of all the political, economic, and social relations and institutions by which men are bound into one body: that this is to be accomplished, not by the destruction of the present order and the inauguration of a miraculous millennium, but by the application of the principles which He has already taught, and by the use of the power which He has already bestowed,—by His Word and by His Spirit: that in a sense the kingdom has already come,—had come, indeed, when He came;

that in another sense it is coming now, coming all the time, coming nearer, coming faster, coming with an ever-accelerating ratio of speed: that this kingdom is to be wrought in and by men, under His leadership, strengthened by His Spirit, preaching His Word, and putting its principles into practice in every relation of life,—that in short WE are to *bring* the kingdom, not only by our prayers but by our deeds; that it never will come until we bring it; but that it will come when we believe in it and set about its establishment as a practicable task.

The press is now turning out hundreds of books on this subject, and teaching these very things. Even outside the pale of religious orthodoxy, thoughtful men are asking the question: Was this, after all, the vision of an enthusiast, a utopian dream? May not Jesus, after all, have been the most far-seeing man in history? May not these ideals be the very goal of human history?

It is this which is giving an impetus, not only to evangelistic and mission work at home and abroad, but to true social service of all kinds. It is this vision which is enlisting hundreds of men and women in unselfish service in other lines than what is usually known as religious work. For the first time in history, perhaps, men are seriously thinking of trying the true principles of Jesus in their business, in their politics, in the administration of justice, in their penal codes and institutions; and in international and inter-racial relations. After spending nineteen hundred years in fulfilling His

own sad prophecy, "I came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword," we are now thinking of fulfilling the prophecy of the angelic chorus, PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD-WILL TO MEN; and of crowning Him with His true title, PRINCE OF PEACE.

It is this hope which is bringing the whole Church into a great spiritual unity, transcending all conceptions of unity of form, whether in creed, ritual, or government. It is this cause which is assembling the true subjects of the King from all countries, from all sects and divisions, into one great army for the conquest of the world. We pray with more meaning, with more faith, with more purpose, with more hope than ever before, THY KINGDOM COME.

The Church's message then should be a clearer exposition of the ethics of Jesus as applying to the life that now is; of the true ground and end of all human rights; and of the kingdom of heaven as the ideal of Humanity as He is the ideal of the Man.

Let the Church, then, not less proclaim salvation in the world to come, for religion without immortality is no religion at all; but let her more clearly proclaim that this life is a part of that immortality. Let her not less seek the salvation of individual souls, for society cannot be regenerated except by the regeneration of its constituent individuals; but let her have more regard to the social relations in which men are bound to one another, and by means of which the whole human race is growing into one

great body. Let her still proclaim the doctrine of God's sovereignty, but proclaim more clearly that the will of God is sovereign because it is the expression of infinite Love, Justice, and Truth, and that the Divine purpose is a renovated earth peopled by a redeemed race. Let her preach not only election to salvation but election to service. Let her preach the doctrine of regeneration, not merely as a condition of getting into heaven hereafter, but of entering into or even seeing the kingdom now and here. Let her preach the doctrine of atonement, not only as a means of reconciling God and man, but of reconciling man and man, and of breaking down the enmity of races, of castes, and of classes. Let her teach her members not to make the getting of food and clothing, of money and pleasure, the end even of their secular work, but to seek first the kingdom, and all these things as means to the kingdom. Let her teach them that the end of their religious work is not to save themselves and others from the pains of hell and to obtain the pleasures of heaven, but to save them from *Sin*, and bring them to Righteousness. Let her teach them not to work for hire, either from man or God, to be paid now or hereafter, but to work for love of God and man. Let her teach them not to limit their work to that for which they are paid, but to give all that is in them of service and fidelity. Let her teach them that week-day work is only a different kind of service to God from Sabbath worship. Let her teach them that not only money given to

the Church belongs to the King, but that invested in business, and that even when it has been honestly earned they are only its trustees,—and that as trustees they must not pay themselves too much salary. Let her tell her multimillionaires and her centimillionaires that they have not purchased immunity by giving the tenth or even the half to missions and colleges and theological seminaries, *but that they must use it all, every dollar of it, for the cause of making it impossible that there should be any multimillionaires*, and then come themselves and follow their Master in His service of love. Let her not less exalt the ministry of the Gospel, but let her teach that every useful occupation is a vocation from God, and must be used to advance the kingdom of Christ. These things are not new, but have lacked emphasis.

One of a pessimistic turn of mind may easily find excuse for questioning whether the progress of civilization has been anything more than a civilization of sin and selfishness. But to one who believes in a Divine purpose in all history, and in the instrumentality of the material to the ideal, the world-vision of to-day is one of promise and of hope. Materialism in philosophy is being buried in the holes of the earth where it has sought to undermine the foundations of morals and of religion. Spiritualistic and Christian idealism is spreading over the world of philosophic thought. Men are coming back to faith, not all indeed to the old

formulas and creeds, but to the essentials of Christian truth.

The last decade has witnessed a great awakening of the public conscience. The secular press is preaching righteousness, the editors and the authors are teaching the principles of Christ's kingdom, the politicians are putting them into their platforms. The bosses in politics are being deposed, the grafters are being driven out of office, and their places are being taken by men to whom patriotism means, not love of country for the sake of that of which it may be despoiled, but love of the people who compose that country.

The Church may maintain a sympathetic attitude towards this whole movement, may indeed lead it if she will, by fitting her sons and daughters with the principles and motives for service in all these relations. Or, every sect being jealous for its own distinctive doctrines and forms, she may view this movement with suspicion and distrust. Her power, not to say her life, depends upon which of these attitudes she will take.

As in the past, that element educated in the doctrines of the Reformed Church of the Divine ground and purpose of human rights mediated between the tyranny of kings and nobles and the license of enraged multitudes; so to-day, it may become the duty of that same element to mediate between the privileged and selfish oligarchy of wealth and the anger of the ignorant poor. Otherwise, maddened by their wrongs, and without educa-

tion in the true principles, they may rise in a revolt whose horrors will surpass those of the French revolution, and which may, for a time at least, result in an anarchy worse than the old despotism.

It is true that this movement is by no means altogether evangelical, or even Christian. Orthodox and liberal, Protestant, Catholic, and Jew are fighting shoulder to shoulder in this battle. But that is no reason why we of the orthodox churches should antagonize or belittle it. Dare we say that this great moral awakening is not the work of God's Spirit, preparing the hearts and consciences of men for a world-wide spiritual awakening? The Renaissance prepared the way for the Reformation, the humanists and the scholars prepared the way for the theologians and the preachers. May we not hope that all these movements, secular as well as sacred, political and economic as well as religious, are preparations for a far grander event in the world's history than the Reformation? Let us heed the call of our times, let us meet the issue as did Luther in Germany, Calvin and Zwingli in France and Switzerland, Knox in Scotland. We who live in this twentieth century can say with far more meaning than could Paul in the first century:

"Brethren, it is high time to awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed."

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